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NEW JERSEY'S PART IN THE CONQUEST OF THE ATLANTIC: A RECORD OF THE STEAMSHIP "SAVANNAH"

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Early on the morning of August 17, 1807, Robert Fulton sailed from New York City aboard the "Clermont" on his first attempt to navigate the Hudson River. Although the voyage to Albany, a distance of one hundred and fifty miles, required thirty-two hours, it convinced nautical sceptics of the possibilities of steam navigation.[1]

Less than twelve years later, on March 28, 1819, another vessel, the "Savannah," was to sail from New York and demonstrate the feasibility of using steam propulsion in transatlantic navigation, by successfully performing a voyage to St. Petersburg, via Liverpool, and returning to her home port, Savannah, Georgia. The "Savannah," a full-rigged wooden sailing ship built in New York at the Corlear's Hook yards of Crocker & Fickett, was originally intended for a New York and Havre packet. According to the New York Custom House records,

[1]David Lear Buckman, *Old Steamboat Days on the Hudson River* (New York, 1907), pp. 10-11. The "Clermont" was built on the East River at the yards of Charles Brownne. She was 130 feet in length; 16 foot beam; 78 tons deadweight, with a draft of 28 inches. The paddle wheels were 15 feet in diameter, 4 feet wide and uncovered. She was named after Chancellor Livingston's county seat on the east shore of the Hudson River in Columbia County.

her measurements were: length, 98½ feet; beam, 26 feet, depth of hold, 14½ feet; tonnage, 319. Prior to her launching on August 22, 1818, she was purchased by Scarborough & Isaacs of Savannah, on behalf of themselves and a group of local shipping men. Among these was Captain Rogers,[2] a moving spirit in the project, who, as the skipper of the "Savannah," was destined to be the recipient of outstanding recognition from shipowners and captains throughout the maritime world.

Although the new owners publicly announced that following her conversion to a steam packet the vessel would engage in regular passenger and freight service between Savannah and Liverpool, it was rumored in shipping circles that the purchasers contempleted disposing of her to the Emperor of Russia. Be that as it may, a contract was made with Daniel Dod[3] of Elizabethtown, N. J., to design the boiler and engine, and to plan such alterations in the vessel's construction as would permit their installation. Upon the approval of his plans, the owners

[2]Moses Rogers, a native of New London, Conn., died of yellow fever at Georgetown, South Carolina, November 15, 1821, aged about 42 years. His remains were committed to the tomb in the burial ground of the Baptist Church of Georgetown. For some years he was actively engaged at New York in the earliest experiments made in the application of steam to the purposes of navigation. After his voyage aboard the "Savannah" he was engaged in 1820 to take command of the steamer "Pee Dee" operating between Georgetown and Cheraw. At the time of his death his family was living in Philadelphia. Georgetown *Intelligencer*, reprinted in The New Brunswick (N. J.) *Fredonian*, December 6, 1821.

[3]Daniel Dod, son of Lebbeus Dod and Mary Baldwin, was born September 8, 1778, at Patterson's Creek, Va., while his parents were on a visit to that state. He married August 25, 1802, Nancy Squire of Mendham, N. J. He died May 9, 1823, as the result of the explosion of a boiler of the steamboat "Patent," whose machinery he had been repairing, and which, at the time of the explosion, was making a trial trip on the East River. He was of varied mechanical interests; from his father he learned the trade of clock and mathematical instrument making. He was also a profound theologian and wrote poetry. Daniel and his two older brothers, Stephen and Abner, established at Mendham a cotton mill, but the depression following the War of 1812 and Daniel's removal to Elizabethtown contributed to its downfall. At Elizabethtown Daniel constructed engines for vessels at Kingston, Can., Sackett's Harbor, N. Y., Philadelphia, Norfolk, Va., Mobile, and New Orleans. Allison Dodd and Joseph F. Folsom, *Genealogy and History of the Daniel Dod Family in America.* (Bloomfield, N. J., 1940), pp. 120-21; John F. Hageman, *History of Princeton and its Institutions* (Phila., 1879), Vol. 2, pp. 277-78; Edwin F. Hatfield, *History of Elizabeth, New Jersey*, (New York, 1868), p. 658.

arranged with Stephen Vail,[4] owner and manager of The Speedwell Iron Works of Morris County, N. J., to construct the boiler and heavy castings of the engine. To Dod was entrusted the building of an inclined, direct-acting, low-pressure engine of ninety horsepower, with a single cylinder of forty inches in diameter, five foot stroke, capable of attaining a normal speed of eight knots per hour. The selection of Dod to execute this important assignment doubtless resulted from his success in designing and constructing the engine for Col. Aaron Ogden's 71-ton passenger vessel, the "Sea Horse" in 1812. Ogden had recognized Dod's mechanical abilities, and in 1811 induced him to remove from Mendham to Elizabethtown and there set up a machine shop, in which to build the engine of the "Sea Horse." The shop was erected on the bank of the Elizabeth River in the vicinity of what is now Bridge Street. Here the engine for the "Savannah" was constructed. Dod's home was located in East Scott Place, nearly opposite the site later occupied by the City Hall.[5] Here he lived from 1811 or 1812 until 1820 when he removed to New York.

Impatient to put the vessel into service, the owners urged both Vail and Dod to accelerate construction. This resulted

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[4]Stephen Vail, son of Davis Vail (1756-1816) and Hannah Moore (1761-1822), was born July 28, 1780, on his father's farm in Littleton, a small village near Whippany, Morris County, N. J. At the age of fifteen he was apprenticed to the Fairchild Forge and Mill, located about one mile north of "The Green" in Morristown. Here he made such rapid progress that in the year 1807 he purchased a half interest in the property and changed the name of the works to The Speedwell Iron Works. In 1812 he purchased the remaining interest and thus became sole owner of the property and business. He continued to manage its affairs alone until 1837 when his son George Vail (1809-1875) became a partner and the name was changed to S. Vail & Son. In 1850 the business was operated by George Vail and Isaac Augustus Canfield, under the firm name of George Vail & Co., and so continued until 1860, when George Vail retired and was succeeded by Messrs. Canfield & Lidgerwood. On July 4, 1801, Stephen Vail was married to Bethiah Young. His second marriage was to Mary Carter (Hedges) Lidgerwood, a widow. His third venture in matrimony was with a Miss Miller. He died July 12, 1864. Stacy B. Kirkbride, *Kirkbride's New Jersey Business Directory*, (Trenton, N. J., 1850) p. 336; Frederick A. Canfield, *A History of Thomas Canfield and of Matthias Camfield*, (Dover, N. J., 1897), p. 62.

[5]The house was razed in 1917 and the land is now part of the site occupied by the Thomas Jefferson High School.

in the completion and delivery of their respective assignments in less than six months from the time the vessel was purchased. By March, 1819, the boiler, engine, and paddle wheels had been installed and tested. Because of their ingenious construction, the paddle wheels, one on either side, could be unshipped when the weather became rough and whenever it was desired to use sails. The construction of the shaft permitted the wheels to be moved inboard, where they could be folded like a fan upon the deck. The time required to effect this change did not exceed thirty minutes. The wheel houses were made of canvas stretched over iron rims.

On March 22, 1819, the "Savannah" made her trial trip. Although carrying at no time more than an inch of steam, and confronted by a head wind, she proceeded to within a mile of Staten Island Anchorage and returned to her dock at the Fly Market in one hour and fifty minutes. Inasmuch as she had been tested for twenty-one inches of steam, it was obvious she could have outdistanced any steamboat operating on our rivers at the time.[6]

On the morning of Sunday, March 28, 1819, a great crowd assembled at Fly Market Wharf to witness the steamer's departure. In the wheel-house were Captain Moses Rogers and his brother-in-law Stephen Rogers, mate. Admiring hundreds who lined the Battery waterfront watched her as she glided gracefully by Governor's Island, entered the Narrows, and gradually disappeared from view on her journey to the Port of Savannah, whence she would proceed to Liverpool and St. Petersburg. After an uneventful voyage of nine days she reached her home port, where hundreds of citizens flocked to the banks of the Savannah River and, as she ascended, saluated her with loud cheers and the waving of hats and handkerchiefs.

The "Savannah" delayed her journey to Europe for more than a month. During this time she was open to the public for inspection of her engine and accommodations. Her cabin, furnished in a comfortable and attractive manner, comprised thirty-two berths, all of which were staterooms. A cabin for

[6] *Fredonian,* April 1, 1819.

ladies, separate from that for gentlemen, afforded private retirement rarely found aboard passenger ships of that day. Notwithstanding these inducements, the prevailing fear that she might be set afire by her furnace or wrecked by a boiler explosion deterred even venturesome travelers from booking passage. For like reasons, merchants hesitated to entrust her with export freight. Crossing the ocean by steam was then an untried experiment.

After taking aboard seventy-five tons of coal and twenty-five cords of wood for fuel, the "Savannah" sailed without passengers or cargo at 9:00 A.M. on May 22, 1819, with Liverpool as her first port of call. Nothing of interest appears among the daily entries in her log[7] kept during the voyage. On June 17, when off Kinsale, near Cork, the "Savannah" was discovered by the semaphore station at Cape Cleare. Believing, from the smoke pouring from her funnel, that the vessel was on fire, the station called the matter to the attention of the admiral commanding the British fleet, then aboard his flagship lying in the Cove of Cork. The Admiral humanely instructed Lieutenant Bowie, commander of the revenue cruiser "Kite", to hasten to her aid. When Captain Rogers finally observed he was being followed, he ordered the engine stopped to permit the "Kite" to come alongside.[8] Although somewhat crestfallen to find his chase had been fruitless, Lieutenant Bowie and members of his crew accepted an invitation to board and inspect what they later termed "a singular yankee craft." The "Savannah" then proceeded to Cork where she replenished her fuel. After a brief stay, her journey was resumed, and at six o'clock on the evening of June 20th she arrived at Liverpool, having used steam eighty hours during her voyage of twenty-nine days. Captain Rogers explained that the only reason the whole voyage was not performed under steam was the fear that her fuel might give out. At Liverpool the steamer was greeted by an enthusiastic welcome. Crowds lined the

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[7] In possession of the United States National Museum, Washington, D. C.

[8] *Elizabethtown Gazette*, September 14, 1819.

wharfs and roofs of houses, while others clung to the masts and upper works of dockside shipping, seeking a glimpse of the first steamer to cross the ocean.

During her stay in Liverpool the "Savannah" was visited by many persons of distinction. On July 21st, she departed for Elsinore and Copenhagen enroute to St. Petersburg. Owing to Jerome Bonaparte's having offered a large reward for anyone who would rescue his brother, Napoleon, from St. Helena, British authorities were suspicious that the "Savannah" was designed to accomplish that purpose. Accordingly, upon her departure, a ship of war was ordered to keep her in sight for several days. While at Liverpool she picked up as a passenger Sir Thomas Graham (afterward Lord Lyndock), who was deeply impressed by her engine and appointments. Captain Rogers quotes him as saying, "I blame no man born in the United States for being proud of his country, and were I a young man I would go there myself."

The "Savannah" arrived at St. Petersburg on September 13, where she maneuvered in the harbor under steam for three days with members of the royal family as her guests. Their effusive praise of the vessel and of the prowess of her master were attested by a service of plate. For nearly a month Captain Rogers carried on negotiations with the Russian government for the sale of the vessel. Finally convinced that further endeavors in this direction were futile, he sailed for home on October 10th, putting into Arendal, Norway, enroute. From Arendal the "Savannah" was twenty-two days in reaching the port of Savannah.[9] Owing to the high price of fuel, no steam was carried on her return passage. Although the King of Sweden is said to have offered $100,000 for the vessel, to be paid in hemp and iron delivered in New York or Boston, the offer was declined, cash being sought. It was reported that fifty or sixty thousand dollars were sunk by the syndicate which fitted up the "Savannah" as a steamer. Upon comple-

[9]*Fredonian*, April 8, 1845.

[10]No contemporaneous picture of the "Savannah" is known to be extant. A somewhat crude lithograph published about 1855 by Rosenthal at Philadelphia is the basis of all pictures of this historic vessel.

tion of her transatlantic voyage the vessel was purchased by Captain Nathaniel Holdredge, divested of her steam apparatus and used by him as a coasting packet between Savannah and New York. She continued in this service until November 5, 1821, when she sank off the south shore of Long Island during a storm.

Although the voyage of the "Savannah" demonstrated the feasibility of steam applied to transatlantic navigation, she was not a steamer in the generally accepted meaning of the term. Her machinery was purely auxiliary and intended for use only during calms or light head winds. In appearance she was identical with the sailing vessels of her day, except that her mainmast was stepped further aft than usual so that the boiler, engine, bunkers, etc., could be forward of the mainmast and yet amidship.[10] Thus, through the ingenuity of two Jerseymen, Dod and Vail, the "Savannah" conquered the Atlantic and ushered in a new era in the annals of ocean navigation. In conclusion it might be added that the achievement of the "Savannah" was not repeated until April 26, 1827, when the steamer "Curecao" of the Royal Netherlands Navy sailed from Hellevoetsluis, near Rotterdam, for Paramaribo and Curacao (Dutch West Indies) and on her return voyage reached Rotterdam on August 4.

CONFERENCE OF NEW JERSEY HISTORIANS

Editor's Note: The Editor acknowledges gladly that this account follows closely the "Summary Report" of the conference prepared under the direction of Professor Richard P. McCormick as chairman and Mrs. Margaret E. Meehan as secretary, which was mimeographed and distributed to those who had attended the conference.

Sponsored by the Department of History and Political Science of Rutgers University, and with the university as host, a "Conference of New Jersey Historians" was held in New Brunswick, Saturday, November 20, 1948, for the purpose of providing an opportunity for those interested in the same field to become acquainted with each other and to set forth the status of historical activity in the state and propose

suggestions for remedying recognized deficiencies. Forty-five men and women, active as teachers, scholars, or librarians, attended the conference.

After luncheon at the University Commons as guests of the university, with an address of welcome from Professor Irving S. Kull, the chairman of the Department of History and Political Science at Rutgers, the meeting adjourned to the Alumni House on Queens Campus for a series of four talks by representatives of major interests in the field. Professor Richard P. McCormick, of the Department of History at Rutgers, acted as chairman of the conference.

Mr. Charles B. Bradley, president of the New Jersey Historical Society, spoke on "The Historical Society and the New Jersey Historian." His speech is printed in this number of the "Proceedings". He defined the society which he heads as a public institution which purposes to discover, procure, collect, and preserve materials relating to the history of the state and to disseminate historical information. The society exists to serve the general public and the historical scholar, and welcomes the assistance of the professional historian. Although hampered by a lack of funds and without the public financial support available to many state societies, the New Jersey Historical Society possesses extensive historical resources and a staff which is anxious to serve those who visit the society's headquarters. Mr. Bradley indicated that the professional historian could aid the Society by offering practical suggestions based on specialized training, by contributing to the *"Proceedings"* of the Society, by soliciting the interest and support of others, by supporting the Society's annual request for state funds to carry on the publication of the *New Jersey Archives,* and by cooperating generally with the Society in its projects. It was brought out in the discussion that followed that the objectives of the Society could probably best be achieved by private management, rather than with a wholly public, state supported institution. Mention was made of the Society's plans for developing closer relations with the county and local societies throughout the state in a program of mutual cooperation.

Dr. Julian P. Boyd, librarian of Princeton University, spoke next on "The University Library and the State Historian." He emphasized the importance of men and ideas rather than money and members in the success of historical societies, and pointed to the need for closer association between amateur historians and genealogists and the professional scholars and teachers. The function of the librarian in promoting historical scholarship is clear: there must be an identity of interest between librarianship and scholarship; scholars and librarians must work in cooperation on mutual problems and there should be joint decisions on matters relating to the acquisition, control, and use of library materials. Closer cooperation would prevent wasteful duplication and provide for specialization of collections. As a specific instance, he cited the need for an adequate bibliography or check list of the major manuscript collections in the state and access to these collections under the most liberal terms, with a wide exchange of microfilms and photostats. In connection with the state archives, he urged an archival program commensurate with the wealth and historical background of the state. In particular, he drew attention to the desirability of bringing under public control the invaluable records of the East Jersey and West Jersey proprietors. On the question of the necessity or desirability of establishing a state historical association, similar to those in Pennsylvania and New York, it was his feeling that the New Jersey Historical Society could properly seize the opportunity neglected by the older private societies in New York and Pennsylvania by bringing within its scope every group interested in state history, thus making a new state association unnecessary. In the ensuing discussion, it was announced by Mr. George J. Miller, Registrar of the East Jersey Board of Proprietors, that there was forthcoming from the publishers a volume of the Proprietors' minutes. Announcement was also made of the intention of the West Jersey Council of Proprietors to have microfilms made of their records by the state university.

Mr. Sidney Goldmann, head of the Bureau af Archives and History of the State Library, was the third speaker on the sub-

ject, "The State Library and the State Historian." The rigid restrictions and budgetary limitations surrounding his bureau, coupled with the general lack of public support, have limited severely the scope of the agency. Not until the establishment of the Public Records office in 1920 did the state begin to take a systematic interest in its archives with the result that only a small fraction of the early records of the state have been preserved. A new Public Records Act, however, if passed, will give the Bureau control over public papers. He urged wide spread support of such an act with the necessary funds for making it effective, and meanwhile suggested the use of high school classes and other local agencies in the preservation of local records.

Professor Harold F. Wilson, of the Glassoboro State Teachers College, was the final speaker, on the topic, "The Teacher and State History." He bemoaned the fact that with the exception of Rutgers and the teachers' colleges, little if any state history is being taught, because of the lack of qualified teachers, the lack of suitable textbooks, and the paucity of material on the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. He told of the work of the committee he heads which is revising a comprehensive syllabus of New Jersey history. This would be invaluable to teachers in the field, and especially to instructors whose library facilities are limited. He stressed the value of local studies for arousing the interest of the young student in history and urged the importance of including more state history in the school curriculum. A practical suggestion made by him was the establishment of some kind of clearing house for historical work and studies in progress, where students and teachers could learn of books and theses in preparation, to prevent duplication and to make possible assistance to those engaged in some definite project.

A special exhibit of manuscripts, rare books, newspapers, and official documents was on display at the university library to show the resources of the library for research. An added feature was a display arranged by Mr. George J. Miller of

minute book, indentures, and other early records of the East Jersey Board of Proprietors.

At the dinner session of the conference in the University Commons, Professor Richard B. Morris, of the Department of History of Columbia University, delivered a stimulating address on the subject, "Spotlight on the Plowmen of the Jersies." His paper is printed in this number of the *"Proceedings."* His theme was that the time has come to apply the microscopic techniques of statistics to familiar generalizations, specifically in New Jersey history, which might produce new and unexpected conclusions. He made a convincing statement of the value of local history and urged that the rich and untapped sources that have long been ignored should be worked to bring forth perhaps richer results that have heretofore been obtained.

The conference would seem to have attained several specific results of advantage to historical research in the state. Apart from the opportunity for becoming acquainted with each other, there was brought forth the desirability for some means of knowing what work is in process of completion. A periodical news letter in mimeograph form was suggested. The New Jersey Historical Society, in an announcement in another part of this issue, is offering the pages of its *"Proceedings"* for this purpose. There was a specific recommendation for a complete check list of New Jersey newspapers to be compiled, a project well worth the time and effort necessary to bring it to fruition. The desirability of spreading interest in history to popular channels instead of confining it to professional and scholarly confines was emphasized. The idea of continuing the conferences in another year was favorably received. Finally, acknowledgment should be made to Rutgers University and especially to Professor Richard P. McCormick, as chairman of the conference, for taking the initiative in this first meeting and for its generosity in acting as host.

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY AND THE NEW JERSEY HISTORIAN

By Charles B. Bradley

President of the New Jersey Historical Society

Address delivered at the Conference of New Jersey Historians at New Brunswick, November 20, 1948

You have asked me to speak to you today on the "New Jersey Historical Society and the New Jersey Historian." By the latter term is meant, of course, the historian who is currently conducting research and is writing or lecturing on New Jersey history. The subject thus stated fairly implies some degree of mutuality, for, on the one hand, the Society owes to the historian all the aid that it can give by way of access to its collections, library and museum and through the services and collaboration of its staff; while, on the other hand, the historian may well be able to make notable contributions to the work and usefulness of the Society. I would like, therefore, to discuss the subject as one of a mutual relationship.

Before examining the specific ways in which this relationship may be furthered it will be useful to consider the general nature and function of the Society. In 1845 a group of distinguished men, most of whom were then in public life, organized the New Jersey Historical Society which, in the following year was incorporated under a special charter. The Society operated continuously under that charter until 1946, a period of one hundred years, when it re-incorporated under the liberal provisions of a general law, thus obtaining a perpetual charter as a non-profit corporation existing for a purely public purpose.

By the terms of the new charter, which closely followed the original one, the purpose of the Society is stated as follows:

> "To discover, procure, collect and preserve and make available to its members and to the general public whatever relates to any department of the history of New Jersey, natural, civil, literary, political, military, social, educational and ecclesiastical, and generally of

> other portions of the United States, and to disseminate knowledge concerning the same."

That is a broad program. While its full accomplishment is necessarily qualified, yet the Society does steadily pursue all of those ends within the practical limitations of its means, and faithfully seeks to perform the public service so defined for which it exists.

Briefly stated, the primary function of the Society is to procure, preserve and make available to its members and to the general public whatever relates to the history of New Jersey in particular and of the United States in general. At this point we may well consider the meaning of the word "history" as used in the charter of the Society. It is a word commonly used in English in two quite different senses, first to denote an actual chain of events, and secondly to denote the written record or other evidence marking such events. Carlyle, who was ever ready to apply the language of metaphysics to the simplest facts of life, recognized these two senses of the word by noting that "Narrative is linear, action is solid." So we may speak of Washington's crossing of the Delaware as an event in the "history" of the United States and of John Fiske's or Trevelyan's account of that operation as a "history." It would seem that the word as used in the charter of the Historical Society covers both senses, and it has been so interpreted in practice; for the Society collects and preserves not only source material relating to the events of history, such as unpublished documents, letters and relics, but also the record of such events contained in many kinds of book, pamphlet and manuscript as well as in museum material. It is therefore the custodian of material for original scholarship, for critical study and for general information and education. So it may justly be asserted that the Society lends itself to all three of those approaches into which Hegel divides the science and treatment of history, namely, original history, reflective history and philosophical history. In other words, the Society is not merely a specialized library of historical works, but also a storehouse

of original contemporary material for the study and inspiration of scholars who compose history in any form.

How does the Society make available to the historian the material that it has collected and preserved?

First, it provides a modern fireproof building, at 230 Broadway, Newark, which houses the library and museum comprising all of the Society's collections. This building, easily accessible from the center of Newark, is open to the public every week-day excepting Monday from ten o'clock in the morning until four-thirty in the afternoon. Its availability all day Saturday is particularly useful to the many whose employment does not leave them free on other days of the week. The library, on the second floor, is in charge of the Librarian, Mrs. Maud H. Greene who is on duty, with her assistants, at all times during the days and hours mentioned.

The library consists of about thirty thousand bound volumes and an uncounted number of pamphlets, manuscripts and documents of a specialized character relating particularly to New Jersey history and biography. The main body of these collections is housed in four tiers of fireproof stacks to which access may be had by application to the librarian on the part of responsible persons. Within the stacks is a large safe containing the more precious items of manuscripts and other material which is available for inspection and study only by arrangement with the librarian. Melancholy experience has proved that precautions for security are imperative. All custodians of books and manuscripts will certainly share this view.

Adjoining the stacks is the main reading room furnished with convenient desks and containing open shelves filled with volumes in general use. One side of this room is lined with filing cabinets containing a large part of the manuscript collections. The card indices are conveniently near. An adjoining room contains large cabinets for maps and manuscripts. On the same floor is the office of the librarian and a receiving vault for valuable items not yet catalogued and permanently placed.

The museum occupies numerous rooms on three floors of the building is in charge of Mrs. Harold Dennis, Assistant

to the Librarian. The museum material consists of every kind of object illustrating the history of New Jersey and the life of its people. Portraits are perhaps the most important items in the museum collections, but furniture, silver, small arms, uniforms, costumes, engravings and photographs as well as miscellaneous objects too numerous to mention add their interest and value as illustrations of the life of successive periods of history. Special exhibits are prepared from time to time, supplemented by temporary loans from other institutions and from individuals. All of this material is available for inspection and study, whether actually on exhibition or, for the time being, in a storeroom in the building.

The librarian and her assistants are at all times ready and eager to help the student in investigation and research. While the experienced scholar may be able to work the card catalogues and indices without recourse to advice and suggestion, the librarian's intimate knowledge of the contents and potentialities of the collections cannot fail to be valuable to any investigator. When a difficult question is presented the librarian frequently calls upon the Chairman of the Library Committee and Corresponding Secretary of the Society, Mr. Elmer T. Hutchinson, formerly associated with the library of Rutgers University. His scholarship and industry have pointed the way to the solution of many historical problems.

While the library and museum, with the skilled aid of the librarian and staff, offer perhaps the most useful opportunities to the historian, another service is available in the current publications of the Society consisting of the "New Jersey Archives" and of the "Proceedings."

The "Archives" are published, generally one volume annually, at the expense of the State but entirely under the supervision and auspices of the Society. Mr. Hutchinson is at present the editor. These volumes, now forty-seven in number, have, since 1880 when publication commenced, covered such diverse subjects as "Documents Relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey", "Journal of the Governor and Council 1682-1775", "Abstracts of Wills", "Newspaper Extracts", "Mar-

riage Records", all of the Colonial or post-revolutionary period. The whole series constitutes a mine of valuable source material in convenient printed form. The latest volume, published in 1948, covers "Abstracts of Wills 1805-1809."

The Society publishes also a quarterly magazine called "Proceedings of the New Jersey Historical Society." As stated on its title page, this publication is "chiefly devoted to New Jersey History, Biography and Genealogy." It contains also news items relating to the Society such as reports of its meetings, of additions to its collections, donations, elections of new members and trustees and other notes of current interest. To the historian, however, the solid significance of the "Proceedlings" lies in the articles of historical, biographical and genealogical import which make up the main body of each number. These articles frequently present new or unpublished material and open a wide field of scholarship and suggestion. The present editor, Mr. William A. Ellis has brought the "Proceedings" to a high standard of literary interest and of practical effectiveness in fulfilling the Society's purpose to disseminate knowledge of history. The well indexed bound volumes, covering a continuous publication of one hundred and three years are of course available in the Society's library as well as in many other public institutional libraries including the State Library and the libraries of Princeton and of Rutgers. They cannot fail to offer material and suggestion to a New Jersey historian.

Such is the service of the "Proceedings" to the historian. At this point the idea of mutuality, to which allusion has been made, clearly comes into the picture, for the pages of the "Proceedings" are open to the writer of New Jersey history who is able and willing to supply appropriate material for the pure advancement of knowledge without the immediate stimulus of financial reward. Here is an opportunity for scholars to pay the debt which as Bacon says, every man owes to his profession. It is a satisfaction to mark the fact that countless scholars over the years have embraced this opportunity. Nor is it a one-sided contribution, for publication in the "Proceedings" is not without its distinction to the writer and may well

bring him and his work to the notice of those whose interest will prove useful. Within the limits of its prescribed field the "Proceedings" is indeed a clearing house for scholarship.

The historian can do much more in aid of the work of the Society. His contacts in the world of scholarship, his acquaintance with individuals and families who possess valuable material may easily be turned to good account in bringing accessions to the Society's collections. He can do a real service in making the Society known to a broader world, and above all he can make public acknowledgment of whatever he may owe to the facilities of the Society. He can advise the officers and staff of the Society, make useful, practical suggestions for improving its services and perhaps give some measure of active help in its work. Some historical scholars are in fact doing all these things, to the advancement of the common purpose and to the relief of the burden that falls upon the staff. These are but a few of the means open to the historian for strengthening and sharpening one of his most useful tools. Others will suggest themselves as occasions arise. Let it not be forgotten that the Society is eager, on its part, to improve its usefulness to the historian and is ever ready to listen to suggestions to that end. The moving spirit on all sides must be a loyal devotion to the cause of truth—the essence of scholarship.

To sum up, the Society offers to the historian the use of its plant and collections, the help of its trained staff, the opportunity to publish in a periodical of distinction and of wide, if selective, circulation. The historian, on the other hand, may bring much to the Society by contributions to its "Proceedings", by enlisting the interest and active support of others, by inducing accessions to its collections, and by advice, suggestion and practical help in the performance of its functions. If both parties faithfully carry out such a program of mutual recognition and effort, each will have made a true contribution to the cause of scholarship in the field of New Jersey history.

SPOTLIGHT ON THE PLOWMEN OF THE JERSIES

BY RICHARD B. MORRIS

Department of History, Columbia University

(Address delivered at the Conference of New Jersey Historians at New Brunswick, November 20, 1948.)

The text for this paper comes from the Apocrypha, specifically the 38th chapter of Ecclasiasticus (25, 26, 33):

> How can he get wisdom that holdeth the plow, and that glorieth in the goad, that driveth oxen, and is occupied in their labors and whose talk is of bullocks? He giveth his mind to make furrows, and is diligent to give the king fodder . . . They shall not be sought for in public council, nor sit high in the congregation: they shall not sit on the judges' seat, nor understand the sentence of judgment: they cannot declare justice and judgment: and they shall not be found where parables are spoken.

With this quotation Governor Lewis Morris of New Jersey sought consolation after receiving a maddening rebuff from the General Assembly, which had refused him both salary and house rent.[1] The legislators, failing to see eye to eye with the governor, had confessed that they were simply farmers and plowmen, from whom could hardly be expected such courtly addresses or involved reasoning as "men of more polite education, and perhaps less sincerity, might be capable of." But their modest self-effacement was put to a stern test as Morris threw all protocol overboard and denounced the Assembly as a pack of idiots. The governor, as assembly retorted, had acted under evil advice, and their warning was buttressed by an appropriate quotation from the Book of Proverbs (ch. 29:12): "If a ruler hearken to lies, all his servants are wicked."[2]

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[1]L. H. Labaree (*Royal Government in America*, p. 343) refers to this incident as the "only clear case in New Jersey; and one of four such cases in the entire British colonial world in the eighteenth century, in which the assembly definitely refused to grant a salary to a royal governor unless he would assent to certain measures desired by them and not directly connected with the salary itself."

[2]Papers of Lewis Morris, 1738-46," N. J. Hist. Soc., *Collections*, IV (1852), 237, 277-278.

Yes, everything Lewis Morris said about the 1745 legislature of the Jerseys Harry Truman said about the 80th Congress, but the President was scrupulous in not offending the sensibilities of the ploughmen of Iowa and Wisconsin, and came out of the conflict in much better shape than did New Jersey's provincial governor.

Governor Morris's class bias was not the exclusive possession of this country squire born on the feudal manor of Morrisania, a man of undoubted courage, who in his younger years had not hesitated to breathe defiance at other governors. Less than a generation later the Board of Customs Commissioners saw fit to view the activities of the common man in town meetings without the benefit of rose-tinted glasses. "At these meetings," declared the shocked bureaucrats, "the lowest Mechanicks discuss upon the most important points of government, with the utmost freedom."

In all fairness it must be conceded that the masses often provoked their rulers by tossing inflammatory statements about. In New Jersey the forces fighting the proprietors gave the conservatives plenty of ammunition. Uprisings throughout the northern parts of the province! Twenty riots in Essex County alone between 1745 and 1748![3] The common man of those days was vociferously on the side of housing and rent control, and draped his ideology in language calculated to raise the blood pressure of a Lewis Morris or a William Franklin. Declared a New Jersey resident in the *New York Weekly Post Boy* in June, 1746:

> No man is naturally entitled to a greater proportion of the earth than another; but tho' it was made for the use of all, it may nevertheless be appropriated by every individual. This is done by the improvement of any part of it lying vacant, which is thereby distinguished from the great common of Nature, and made the property of that man who bestowed his labour on it, from whom it cannot afterwards be taken without breaking thro' the Rules of Natural Justice; for thereby be could be actually deprived of the Fruits of his Industry.[3]

[3] *N. J. Arch.*, 1st ser., XII, 308-309.

All this before the era of J. Parnell Thomas!

No wonder, then, that Governor Morris informed the Speaker that "if these Ryoters cannot be brought to Justice, all civill process must soon cease and the government be overturn'd. The Infection will soon spread from such a notorious Ryot to a Rebellion, so I hope you will not be wanting in your care concerning it."[4] These tenants who defiantly squatted on the land and openly broke jail and rescued their leaders—just who were they? "Generally the dregs of the people," Morris asserted, "who enter upon any lands without any pretence of right, either from Indians or anybody Else."[5]

The feeling of the royal bureaucracy and certain members of the upper class that wisdom could not reside in legislative bodies or popular assemblies manned by ordinary people was, if anything, accentuated as the bitter feuds of the Revolutionary years cut across all classes and all sections of the state. That Tory printer, Rivington, attacked the Monmouth County Committee of Inspection as a "snarling, pediculous litter of racoons." A member of the Morris clan, the conservative Gouverneur, was moved to denounce this "cursed spirit of levelling" and to attack the masses as "poor reptiles." In reporting the dismissal of a Charleston, South Carolina minister by his congregation "for his audacity in . . . saying that *mechanics* and country *clowns* had no right to dispute about politics, or what kings, lords and commons had done, the *Newport Mercury* of September 26, 1774, commented: "All *such* divines should be taught to know that mechanics and country clowns (infamously so called) are the real and absolute masters of King, lords, commons, and priests."

But to return to the venerable Lewis Morris—indubitably the best authority on the plowmen of the Jersies. Only a short time before his altercation with the legislature Morris had seen fit to boast that those dwelling within New Jersey "were the most easie and happy people of any Collony in North America."[6] Considering the fact that when this observation was

[4]"Papers of Lewis Morris," *loc. cit.*, p. 271.
[5]*Ibid.*, p. 281.
[6]*Ibid.*, p. 147 (1742).

made the entire colony was rent by a conflict between landlords and tenants which attained the stature of a small civil war, this seems like a piece of wishful thinking on the part of Morris, and one should be perhaps more cautious than Professor Gipson, who, in his *"British Empire before the American Revolution,"* seems quite prepared to take this assertion at its face value as solid proof that all was right with the best of empires.

Truly, then, Jersey, land of small freeholds, refuge for dissenting sects, was a fulcrum of democratic ideals in colonial times, a microcosm of broader sectional and social cleavages. To know the early history of the Jerseys is to acquire special insight into the way democracy, political and social, was achieved in this country. The early Jerseymen were a group of plowmen and other commoners. Even though the Quaker founders of West Jersey were recruited from the ranks of the crafts and tradesmen, as well as of the yeomanry, they were very distinctly not members of the gentry.

These common folk who peopled West Jersey had, from the very beginning, no use for authoritarianism in any of its colonial versions. They had no desire to come under the undemocratic regime of the Duke of York. As one proprietor wrote as early as 1677, "the place I like very well. But if it be not made free, I mean as to the customs and government, then it will not be so well." Actually, popular government began in West Jersey by a compact or agreement to which all concerned "voluntarily and freely set" their hands, or, as the Burlington Court phrased it in 1681, all freeholders and tenants were required to sign the Concessions "or shew their reasons for their refusal."[7]

Jerseymen never forgot that their political life had been forged in a democratic process. The recalcitrant legislature of 1745 declared "We have liberty by our constitution to act freely and speak freely, while we do it with decency and good

[7] *Burlington Court Book of West New Jersey,* ed. by H. Clay Reed and George J. Miller (*American Legal Records,* V Washington, D. C., 1944), p. 8.

manners . . . This valuable privilege we esteem so essentially necessary to a free government, that the security of property and freedom of speech always go together. We are but a nation favored for its liberty. With liberty, knowledge will increase; and although but a small portion of it may fall to our share, with that we are as happy as we are content, and by it we are taught that we are as fit to use our own understandings in the conducting our human affairs, as they are whose reasoning we cannot be convinced is better than our own.

Governor Morris's diatribe against the legislature raises a question which historians have never satisfactorily answered. Was it possible for people of humble origin to advance in the economic, social, and political scale in colonial life? Was there a rigid caste system or was there a considerable degree of mobility within the social structure? What happened to the poor redemptioner after he served out his three-year term upon coming to this country? What happened to the convict servant after he completed his service of seven to fourteen years? Were such persons absorbed in the communities in which they had made their start? Did they pick up land? Did they advance politically? What happened to their children? A lot of spadework remains to be done before these questions can be answered. This testing of the basic concept upon which our American society has been built—the idea that all men are born equal and should have equal opportunities—constitutes a great challenge for historical scholarship.

To answer these questions we historians will have to borrow some of the research techniques of the genealogist. We need to know more about convict servants like Andrew Lamb, who settled in Philadelphia and acquired a reputation as an instrument-maker and teacher of mathematics, surveying, and navigation, and whose son, John, was a general in the Continental army. A good deal of pertinent data lies buried in church records and family Bibles to support the traditional theme of American ballads of the poor farmhand who marries the farmer's daughter and the apprentice boy who falls in love with his young mistress—like Thomas Ferguson who

ultimately married Christopher Gadsen's daughter. We need fewer generalizations about class and status, more facts about John Jones and his wife Abigail, their eleven children, and their descendants in turn. In short, historians should now get down to individual cases.

Let us, specifically, consider the "ploughmen" who constituted the New Jersey legislature in 1745. Was there any basis in fact for Lewis Morris's diatribe? Only in a very restricted sense, for the early Assemblies, as Tanner has pointed out, were largely recruited from the original proprietors and their progeny, and from leading merchants. Actually the qualifications for membership insured the election of men of means to the Assembly; and at the time of Morris's attack, the Assembly was well represented by prominent members of the Council of West Jersey Proprietors. A few men of relatively humble origin had gained places. Aaron Leaming, one time shoemaker's apprentice, had already risen to prominence in the Cape May courts. Hendrick Fisher who launched his career in the Assembly around this time had come to Jersey as a Palatine immigrant. Later on, prominent merchants, ironworks proprietors, and lawyers were added to the roster of the New Jersey Assembly, but practically no plowmen, in the sense of yeomen farmers, were sent to the legislature. But to the royal governor, one born and bred on the manor of Morrisania and reared in the European quasi-feudal tradition, these modest proprietors and small capitalists had barely risen from European villeinage. In the eyes of Lewis Morris these middle class legislators were nothing but an inferior peasantry.

When we turn to the provincial courts the same pageantry of democratic faces is evident. Preston Edsall in his study of the Court of Common Right of East Jersey has shown that the occupations from which the judiciary was recruited in the proprietary period included: Lawyers—two; public officials—two; soldiers—one; planters—twenty; merchants—eight; mechanics—nine, including one cordwainer, two weavers, one joiner, three carpenters, and one turner. To round

out the personnel of the court one druggist and one surveyor were added. Without question the common man was better represented on the bench of Jersey in colonial times than in any subsequent period. And yet, despite the death of lawyers on the bench—a circumstance characteristic of the colonial bench generally—a substantial measure of justice was administered by this court and by most other colonial courts similarly manned. In our own era of intense specialization laymen's courts are probably no longer practical, but any comparison between colonial and twentieth-century justice is hardly to the discredit of the amateur court of older times as against the professional court of today.

To give us a clearer understanding of the nature of the problems confronting the immigrant in making his adjustments to the Jersey way of life we need more accounts like Mellick's *Story of an Old Farm*. Yet Johannes Mellick is hardly typical of Jersey immigrants, as he came over to America in comfortable circumstances, and was able to pick up a sizable landed estate immediately upon arrival. We do know that the bulk of the immigrants to these shores were not nearly so well off. My own survey of the Naval Office lists reveals that the overwhelming majority of immigrants were subsidized. For example, out of the 6,000 emigrants leaving England between Dec. 11, 1773, and Oct. 30, 1775, approximately 4,000 embarked from the port of London for the colonies, and, of these, eighty-seven per cent went over as indentured servants—that is, they were unable to pay their passage and were, accordingly, bound to shipmasters, or came over under contract to planters and master artisans in the colonies. This general immigration pattern is substantiated by Abbot Emerson Smith in his recent study, *"Colonists in Bondage,"* although possibly that author errs on the side of conservatism in his estimates of the proportion of bound servants to the total immigrant picture in colonial times.

In a few cases where we have been able to follow the immigrants after they left ship and set foot on Jersey soil, their rapid upgrading seems well established. For example, Richard Basnett, innkeeper, was already, by 1691, referred to as

a "gentlemean"; Daniel Leeds, by trade a cooper, attained important financial status in West Jersey, graduating, according to H. Clay Reed, from the ranks of yeoman to that of gentleman. Casper Berger, a German stone mason and redemptioner, whose coming to America in 1744 was expedited by a little shanghaiing on the part of the ship's captain, obtained his freedom after three years of service by building three houses, and thus working off his obligations. By the time of the Revolution he was a settled Readington tavernkeeper, and, upon his death in 1817, his 400-acre homestead was divided among his three sons. Was Berger's modest fortune typical of the lot of Jersey redemptioners?

Several factors explain the democratic trends in colonial Jersey, make clear why economic democracy was perhaps as well entrenched in Jersey as anywhere in the Thirteen Colonies. One factor was the willingness of the absentee Quaker proprietors to offer their land for sale. As a result of this policy their shares were almost immediately disposed of to perhaps a hundred small proprietors. Another was the fact that absenteeism was discouraged by the requirement that land taken up be settled within three years. Proprietors who emigrated received 200 acres per person; those who did not had to have two "able men servants" or three "weaker" ones per hundred acres. While throughout the other colonies the headrights went to the employing-planter rather than to the immigrating service, in New Jersey servants seem to have been more fortunate than bound immigrants in the tobacco colonies, for example, in securing a share of these headrights. For instance, two sisters binding themselves in 1681 to go as servants for four years were promised forty acres each by their respective masters; and quite a few other servants received forty-acre grants from their employers.[8] Four years after coming over, Nathaniel Sykes was awarded forty acres of land by the Burlington Court in accordance with the indenture made with his master, Edward Taylor. This share, it should be noted, came out of his employer's settlement grant.[9]

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[8] *N. J. Arch.*, XXI, 401, 414, 417.

[9] *Burlington Court Book*, p. 7.

Even those who lapsed from the straight and narrow path were forgiven, and their sins forgotten. For example, Henry Beck, found guilty of fornication by the West Jersey Court in 1691, afterwards served as constable and was not considered ineligible for subsequent jury service. Nine or ten years after his conviction he seemed to have no difficulty in persuading the court to lay out a road from his mill to the river. Only a few years before, Beck had defied the order of that same court to pay his own servant wages due. Refusing to find security for his good behavior, he was sent to prison until he complied.[10] Having labor troubles, then as now, would seem an almost infallible sign of economic success. Only the rich had servant problems!

If the application by the social historian of the genealogical approach to the study of cases is to prove fertile to the next generation of colonial historians, our future studies will have to be more microscopic in character, and, at the same time, demonstrate a greater mastery of statistical methodology than customary in colonial research. Those who have in the past applied statistical techniques have used rather narrow samples. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker's conclusions about land distribution in colonial Virginia are largely founded on a rent roll for the year 1704, and Abbot Emerson Smith comes to a contradictory conclusion for a neighboring tobacco province on the basis of a ten-year analysis of the Maryland Land Books.[11]

Is it possible to bring to a close the controversy between the imperialist school—historians like George L. Beer, Charles M. Andrews, and Lawrence H. Gipson, who feel that the colonists under the merchantile system enjoyed benefits which outweighed detriments—and some of their recent critics, including Curtis Nettels and Lawrence Harper who have raised some significant objections. To strike a balance sheet for the British Empire as a whole and for the twenty-seven colonies

[10]Burlington Court Book, pp. 207, 208, 248.

[11]In his *Colonists in Bondage* Smith estimates that only about two out of ten of the redemptioners, and many fewer of the convicts, servants, somewhat succeeded in the New World.

within that empire we will have to study export and import figures, ledgers, journals, and accounts of commercial and industrial firms, and as much other relevant statistical data as is available. Laments of individuals or specific groups whose particular ox may have been gored by the Navigation Laws signify very little. Even in the colonial period one must learn to beware of the use of statistics advanced by pressure groups.

But for the Jerseys the problem posed by trade statistics is especially difficult, for Jersey's main seaport of Perth Amboy enjoyed a frustrated career, and throughout the colonial period New York and Philadelphia were the chief ports of entry and exit of Jersey's products. For this reason we have no Naval Office lists for New Jersey, and those available for New York, fragmentary and incomplete as they are, merely serve to give us an inflated picture of New York trade. because so much of what came into the port of New York was destined for the plowmen of the Jersies and so much that went out originally come from across the Hudson.

Without further intensive statistical studies it is not possible to acquire a sound grasp of the wage and price structure of the colonies. No satisfactory wage schedules are available for the colonial period for any single colony, and the only price studies extant are for wholesale prices, in themselves constituting an unrealistic clue to actual living costs. In place of statistics we do have a plentiful supply of generalization about real wages in America as compared with England in the 17th and 18th centuries. Contemporaries said that American workmen received three to six times what comparable labor was paid on the continent. But is is clear that before we can cloak these generalizations with significance we will have to do a lot more spade work. We will have to take into account varying living costs in diverse areas, give consideration to the highly complex and at times volatile colonial currency, and have due regard for the role of subsistence farming in supplementing the income of wage earners. Again, we will have to comb account books, business papers, court records, and administrative archives. Before they can be accepted,

any inferences about the economic upgrading of farm labor and mechanics will have to be buttressed by an irrefutable body of statistics.

The amazing political campaign of 1948 should serve to caution us that statistical inferences about past events are a lot safer than forecasts of things that are about to happen. Conceding the dubious scientific merit of sampling techniques used by current polling services, I am nonetheless confident that if we adopt a sound statistical approach to early American history, the result may be to revise many conceptions which are now accepted as historical commonplaces.

Three areas will be cited, with illustrations drawn from New Jersey. Let us consider, first, the subject of inflation during the Revolution. That period is admittedly America's more serious inflationary experience. The thesis is pressed by John C. Miller in his recent *"Triumph of Freedom"* that inflation almost defeated the patriots in that war. One example is mentioned in New Jersey where, in Essex and Burlington Counties in 1779, wages were fixed for "weavers, tailors, carpenters, and such other mechanics as do not work their own stuff to have sixteen times as much as they usually had in the year 1774." For the country as a whole the year 1779 was one of ruinous inflation.[12] Should we not expect this inflationary trend to be reflected in wages paid farmhands, weavers, tailors, and other workmen. But what do the account books actually show?

Kenneth W. Condit, a graduate student at Princeton University, has made a preliminary approach to this thorny problem in New Jersey, drawing upon the valuable account book collection in the Rutgers University Library. Among the data he has been able to assemble are figures in agricultural occupations. Mowing and reaping were compensated at a rate of 4*s*.9*d*. in 1757, 4*s*.6*d*. in 1778, and 5*s*. in 1783. Hardly any inflation there at all! From such figures the probability is, then, not that this sample is inaccurate, but that New Jersey currency rather than continental currency was regularly used in wage payments. Does this make any difference? De-

cidedly, for in New Jersey the inflation of the Revolutionary years was not as great as in other states, nor did it last as long.[13] Actually, then, the price-wage situation seems comparable to that of the French and Indian War, in the course of which prices rose very modestly despite the huge increase in New Jersey's provincial debt.[14]

Here again genealogical techniques can help us in determining real wages. The will books and inventories of estates give reasonably accurate estimates of the amount of property workmen were able to accumulate in their lifetime. Inventories of estates of carpenters, masons, and weavers for the years 1754-85 (again drawing upon Mr. Condit) reveal that such workmen often left substantial estates, ranging from £20 to £1,255, with an average above £100, no inconsiderable figure for those days. In addition, many workmen owned land, one as much as 500 acres. Some statistician, drawing upon such material, should be able to estimate the rate of saving of colonial workmen during their productive years. The results might make interesting comparison with the rate of saving possible for labor under current inflationary conditions.

But this much we do know. Plowhands in Salem County received from fifty to one hundred per cent above similar farm workers in Coteswold, Oxfordshire, and the Vale of Gloucester in the mother country, and Essex County building trades workers in 1765 received almost thirty per cent more than masons and carpenters employed at the venerable University town of Oxford. That living standards of colonial workers were considerably higher than their English cousins seems indubitable from available evidence.

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[12]In January, 1777 $105 in continental currency equalled $100 in specie.
In January, 1778 $325 equalled $100 in specie.
In January, 1779 $742 was the proportion.
In January, 1780 $2,934 to specie worth $100.
In February, 1781 $7,500 to $100 was the proportion.

[13]Most of the paper money New Jersey issued in 1776 and 1777 she called in by 1780, and, out of the $336,000 worth of paper issued by New Jersey in 1780, only $170,000 remained outstanding in 1783.

[14]See Donald L. Kemmerer, *Path to Freedom* (Princeton, 1940), pp. 278 *et seq.*

Nonetheless all was not beer and skittles in the colonies. Workmen had plenty of trouble in climbing the economic and social ladder, and many fell off even the bottom rungs. With our characteristic optimism we Americans have taken success for granted, and paid comparatively little attention to failure. But, as a nation of entrepreneurs and individualists we have experienced an enormous number of failures. The expression from shirtsleeves to shirtsleeves in three generations has much statistical justification. A study of the bankruptcy records of the Federal and state courts would be most rewarding in providing individual case study data on the effect of the economic cycle in shattering the faith of many families in the existence of virtually limitless opportunities in our nation for economic and social upgrading.

For early New Jersey we have one most interesing and unexploited source. I refer to the records of soldiers' pensions. Fortunately, many such have been preserved, and the Historical Records Survey has included some in its publication of certain Gloucester County Revolutionary War documents.[15] Let us consider a few examples. In 1820 the Gloucester Court of Common Pleas took up a petition from veteran Philip Barry (who signed his statement with an X) certifying that he had assets totalling $6.25 (including two old axes, an old looking glass, a tea kettle, and a bucket), and debts of $9, that he was a hatter by occupation, but had not worked at his trade for "40 years past," owing to debility and loss of eyesight. John Berry had served with Washington's life guards and with a battalion commanded by Anthony Wayne, but by 1820 he was unable to pursue his occupation of farmer and laborer because of chronic rheumatism. His 150 acres of scrubby timber pine were valued at $60, but he had debts of $51.50. Later he admitted being reduced in status from a farmer to a laborer. Basketmaker John Briant had fought in the New Jersey line, but was unable to pursue his trade after he broke his leg. Weaver Thomas Wiggins, veteran of the 3rd New Jersey Regiment, was "unable to get any employment" at

[15](Newark. N. J., 1940).

his trade. Among his assets valued at $15.45 was a weaver's loom appraised at $5.00. From the County Almshouse Thomas Shaw, who had fought at White Plains and Trenton, declared in 1821, that he had no property or income, was lame and infirm, and that his blind wife was confined to her room for seven years.

To these unfortunates who helped turn the tide at Trenton and Princeton, individualistic private enterprise and the laissez-faire system, which Max Savelle, in his recent *"Seeds of Liberty,"* considers to be rooted in the American tradition, no longer had any great appeal. These old veterans needed the welfare state, and it is to the credit of New Jersey and the Federal government that they were not completely forgotten.

A combination of the case study and the statistical approach applied to the problem of the disposition of Loyalist estates during and after the Revolution is certain to prove rewarding. So distinguished an historian as the late J. Franklin Jameson maintained that social democracy was the direct result of the confiscation of Loyalist estates. According to this view, big holders lost their property, which in turn was broken up into small freeholds, giving the little fellow a chance to move up in the economic scale. Yet, when Harry Yoshpe tested this thesis for New York County, he found that, in fact, the estates of the big fellows were purchased by luckier big fellows, and that it took from one to two generations before the speculators re-sold this property to small yeomen farmers, and at a profit.[16]

For an analysis of this problem New Jersey constitutes fertile ground. Throughout the colony loyalism was rife (New Jersey ranked fourth in the number of its Loyalists), and the ebb and flow of military campaigns materially affected property-holders on both sides during the years of the Revolution. The problem was tackled for just one county—Somerset—by Nathan Adams, working in my seminar at Princeton. He found that it was difficult for small landowners to

[16] *The Disposition of Loyalist Estates in The Southern District of the State of New York* (New York, 1939).

pick up confiscated Loyalist estates. In the first place, no preemption rights were offered tenants. In the second place, cash payments or state certificates were required to be posted on the day of sale. Some commissioners used such devices as early morning sales and limited bidding to secure properties at low prices for their friends. The Monmouth commissioners were actually censored by the Assembly in 1779, but were not removed from office. Such large holdings as those of the American Company and the West Jersey Society were each placed under the trusteeship of a Whig stockholder. The Proprietors, largest landholders in the state, escaped confiscation through the cooperation of Whigs and by hiding their books in New York. In fact, of all the original proprietary colonies, New Jersey is the only one whose proprietors have survived to this very day.

For Somerset, Adams found that final judgments were obtained against the estates of twenty-seven Loyalists, but, of these, only seven Loyalists actually suffered confiscation of their property which ranged from 43 acres to 3,000 acres. One small estate was bought by the wealthy ironmaster, John Jacob Faesch. Two estates were picked up by Frederick Frelinghuysen, a large Somerset landholder, himself a commissioner of forfeited estates. One of these was sold two days later; the other was not sold until 1797, when the sale served to enlarge adjoining farms. One estate of 352 acres was purchased by William Paterson, alert attorney general who prosecuted all forfeiture cases in New Jersey. This was not sold until 1814, and then at a handsome profit. Paterson's brother-in-law, Thomas Irwin of Philadelphia, picked up another estate of 600 acres. Save for Oliver Delancey's estate of 3,000 acres, which was sold to four persons who held their portions for a very considerable time, the average of the six other estates confiscated was 279 acres.

The evidence from Somerset would indicate that the confiscations were a windfall for insiders, and that where estates were broken up they generally went to enlarge holdings of adjacent farmers, a trend toward concentration of holdings

rather than further distribution. To support the thesis that confiscations were a step in the direction of economic and social democracy for areas in New Jersey other than Somerset, we will have a good deal more corroborative data from the records of confiscated estates and land transfers, sources hitherto unexploited, than have been adduced thus far.

One last illustration is offered of the need to introduce some degree of scientific measurement and statistical analysis into local historical studies. Recent historians have sought to paint Andrew Jackson as the darling of the "toiling masses." According to the twentieth century verdict, it was the eastern workingmen, not the frontiersman, whose votes put the Jackson ticket across. Again resorting to microscopic analysis, a group of my students in a seminar at Columbia have found that, generally speaking, it was the small farmer in the back country sections of the eastern states who supported Jackson rather than the industrial worker. This was clearly true of Philadelphia, and substantially the case in Boston, Hartford, and New Haven. Working through New Jersey election returns, Milton Nadworny[17] found that in 1828, when Jackson was riding the crest of his popularity in the East, almost all the sizable towns voted the Adams ticket by comfortable margins, and Mr. Adams carried the state. In the 1829 elections the towns stayed Whig, but the Jacksonians fared better in the western and central parts of the state, notably in Trenton. After a brief Jacksonian victory in Newark in a contest for local office in 1830, the Whigs in 1832 swept all the large Essex towns; even Trenton and New Brunswick voted for the Whigs. Nevertheless, despite the anti-Jackson city vote (save in Amwell), New Jersey delivered her electoral vote to Jackson. As for the Workingmen's Party, there is no evidence that it supported Jackson, as it confined its activities to state elections, and, in a few cases to town elections. In 1834, when the Bank controversy, the greatest single issue of the Jackson era reached

[17]The Editor hopes to publish a condensation of this study in a later number of the "Proceedings".

a climax, the Democrats lost even Paterson, usually a Democratic stronghold. In 1836, when the trade unions were at their peak strength, the mere 217 votes the labor ticket was able to muster in Newark constituted an unimpressive showing when we consider that the Newark Trade Union boasted 1,168 members. An analysis of the counties which most consistently supported Jackson—Bergen, Hunterdon, Sussex, Monmouth, and Warren—reveal that they were overwhelmingly agricultural. Those which consistently voted Whig—Cape May, Cumberland, Essex, Salem, and Gloucester—were, with the exception of industrial Essex, more concerned with lumbering and fishing than with farming. The plowmen, particularly in the northwestern part of Jersey, not the workingmen, constituted the backbone of Jacksonian Democracy in New Jersey.[18]

From these random statistical illustrations it may be apparent that the writing of New Jersey history from now on should give increasing emphasis to microscopic local case studies, to the more effective utilization of statistical techniques. In this way historical inferences will be supported, not by vagarious generalizations, but by an irrefutable body of scientific data. A great citizen of New Jersey, addressing the New Jersey Historical Society some forty-eight years ago, pointed out that "it is easier to make out a list of county clerks than to extract the social history of the county from the records they kept." The "right and vital sort of history," Woodrow Wilson added, "is the sort which may be written with lifted eyes, the sort which has an horizon and an outlook upon the world.[19] To the local historian no more inspiring words can be offered than are found in the concluding message of the then Princeton professor of jurisprudence and political economy.

> Read but your history aright, and you shall not find the task too hard. Your own local history, look

[18]As regards the issue of monopoly, it must be borne in mind that it was the Jacksonians in New Jersey who chartered the Camden and Amboy Railroad, and it was the Whigs who made monopoly a burning state issue.

> but deep enough, tells the tale you must take to heart. Here upon our own seaboard, as truly as ever in the West, was once a national frontier, with an elder East beyond the seas. Here, too, various peoples combined and elements separated elsewhere effected a tolerant and wholesome mixture. Here, too, the national stream flowed full and strong, bearing a thousand things upon its currents. Let us resume and keep the vision of that time: know ourselves, our neighbors, our destiny, with lifted and open eyes: see our history truly, in its great proportions: be ourselves liberal as the great principles we profess; and so be a people who might have again the heroic adventures and do again the heroic work of the past. 'Tis thus we shall renew our youth and secure our age against decay.[20]

If historian Woodrow Wilson were alive today, in this first troubled and confused generation of the Atomic Age, he might well take heart from the little man at plow and loom whose sweat and toil and tears made this country what it is.

Let us put the spotlight on the plowmen of the Jerseys, and as we follow them along their uphill climb toward building for their families and their communities a better way of life, perhaps we can win renewed confidence that our own strivings for a democratic society in this land and throughout the world may some day bear fruition.

WORK ON NEW JERSEY HISTORY IN PROGRESS

We are glad to open the pages of our *"Proceedings"* as a clearing house for information on work being done in New Jersey history. This is in line with the suggestion made at the Conference of New Jersey Historians at New Brunswick last November for the setting up of some means by which "students and teachers could learn of books and theses in preparation to prevent duplication and to make possible assistance to those engaged in a definite project."

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[19]N. J. Hist. Soc., *Coll.* (1900), VIII, 185 *et seq.*

[20]*Ibid.*, p. 206.

We invite professors and librarians in our own and nearby colleges and universities to send us information to be listed by us periodically under the above heading. We suggest that the work should be on New Jersey history or some closely related subject and that the title be followed by an explanatory sentence showing the emphasis being placed on the subject; also that the name and address of the student be given to invite correspondence.

The library of our Society is available for use by any students in this field. We ask that students who are not members of the Society or known to our library staff bring with them by way of introduction and identification a letter from the head or a member of the department under which they are working, so that their responsibility may be established and the full resources of the library made available to them.

The list follows:

Baker, Robert Lewis, Princeton University graduate seminar: *"The Revolutionary Veterans of New Jersey: A Study in Achievement and Failure."*

Clark, Barbara Louise, 725 Oakdale Ave., Jackson, Mich.: *"Elias Boudinot,* 1740-1821."

Cranmer, H. Jerome, Economics Department, Columbia University: *"The Morris Canal."*

Cranmer, H. Jerome, Economics Dept. Columbia University: *"The Role of Government in Economic Development: Internal Improvement in New Jersey."*

Dunham, Professor William J., Seton Hall College, South Orange, (M.A. Thesis New York University.): *"Mahlon Dickerson,* 1770-1853."

Fairman, Charles, Dept. of Law and Government, Stanford University: *"Biography of Joseph P. Bradley."* A critical study of the career of the famous jurist both at the bar and on the bench, stressing the development of the law of civil rights and interstate commerce.

Haskett, Richard C., Princeton University: *"William Paterson,* 1745-1806." (Ph. D. dissertation.)

Hughes, Howard L., Librarian, Free Public Library, Trenton: *"Libraries in New Jersey to* 1850."

Lawrence, Grace F., 11 Lincoln Ave., Metuchen, New Jersey: *"The School and Church as Forces in Elizabeth, New Jersey,* 1740-1855." (Ph. D. dissertation. New York University.)

Lyons, Francis R., 65 Morrell St., New Brunswick, New Jersey: *"Some Labor Developments in New Brunswick."* (M.A. Thesis, Rutgers University.)

McCormick, Dr. Richard P., Dept. of History and Political Science, Rutgers University: *"The Development of Electoral Machinery in New Jersey."*

Moss, Simeon, Princeton University graduate seminar: *"The Confiscation of Loyalists Estates in New Jersey."*

Reilly, George L. A., 47 North Fullerton Ave., Montclair, New Jersey: *"The Camden and Amboy Railroad."* (Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University.)

Rockefeller, George C., Arrowhead Lake, Denville, New Jersey: *"Bibliography of New Jersey Imprints Through* 1800."

Schmidt, Dr. Hubert G., Middlebush, New Jersey: *"An Economic and Social Study, Based on Papers of the Capner and Allied Families,* 1780-1820."

Taylor, Normal, Department of History, Princeton University: *"Elias Boudinot,* 1740-1821." (Ph. D. dissertation, Princeton University.)

Thomas, William, Dept. of Geography, Rutgers University: A Ph. D. thesis that will deal with land usage in six South Jersey counties.

Turner, Gordon B., Princeton University graduate seminar: *"A Biography of Lewis Morris, Governor of New Jersey."*

Warren, Giles J., New York University: *"The Development and Expression of Anti-British Sentiment in New Jersey from* 1763 *to* 1776." (Ph. D. dissertation, New York University.)

Wayman, Rev. Harold P., Editor, 142 Livingston Avenue, New Brunswick, New Jersey: *"Quarter Session Minutes of New Jersey During the Revolutionary War,* 1774-1783." (Ph. D. dissertation, Columbia University.) To be published by the Littleton Griswold Fund under auspices of American Historical Association.

Williams, Carl. M., 308 South Smedley St., Philadelphia 3, Pa.: *"Silversmiths of New Jersey,* 1700-1825." (Scheduled for early publication.)

Wilson, Professor Harold F., Head of the Social Studies Department, State Teachers College at Glassboro, New Jersey: *"The Emergence of South Jersey."* Emphasizes social and economic developments in the nineteenth century, similar to his *"Hill Country of Northern New England,* 1790-1930."

Wright, Helen, Geography instructor at Glassboro, New Jersey, State Teachers College: A Ph. D. dissertaiton on the geography of New Jersey, especially slanted to upper grade public school children.

In addition, the *"Syllabus History of New Jersey"* is being revised, preparatory to the publication of a second edition this fall. Professor James Downes, of Newark State Teachers College, is writing new units on political developments since 1865; Raymond Miller, of Paterson State Teachers College, on social trends since 1865; Dr. Herbert Gooden, of Montclair State Teachers College, on developments in transportation and communication since 1865; Charles Titus, of Jersey City State Teachers College, is revising his units on the colonial and revolutionary period; Professor Harold F. Wilson, of Glassboro State Teachers College, is revising his units on New Jersey in the middle years, the nineteenth century. Professor Wilson is chairman of the committee in charge of revision and Dr. Richard P. McCormick, of Rutgers University, and Dr. Francis W. Hopkins, of the New Jersey College for Women, are acting in an advisory capacity.

RICHARD HARTSHORNE OF MIDDLETOWN, NEW JERSEY (1641-1722)

BY Arthur Layton Funk,
Gainesville, Florida

Editor's Note: The author of this study is an Associate Professor in Social Sciences at the University of Florida. He holds a Ph. D. in History (1940) from the University of Chicago. Of his relation to the subject of his study, he says: "The home of my family is Brooklyn; an ancestor of mine married into the Hartshorne family and for a while lived in Monmouth, but after the Revolution moved to Brooklyn, where the family on my mother's side has lived ever since."

The fall of the Commonwealth, and the accession of the Stuart Charles II to the throne of England in 1660, was to have far-reaching consequences, particularly for the settlements along the shores of the Atlantic from the Delaware River to Rhode Island. Along this barren shore there were already colonies: a few families in eastern Jersey, the Dutch

under Governor Peter Stuyvesant at New Amstrdam, and groups of adventurous English in Long Island, Connecticut, and in Roger Williams' persecution-free Rhode Island. It was here, as well as in Delaware, that Quakers were finding new homes, and a veritable chain of Quaker families was settled from Providence to Gravesend, Long Island, with a particularly active colony at Oyster Bay.

The Anglican policies of Charles II were to stimulate emigration; the famous Conventicle Act of 1664, which prohibited the gathering of non-conformist groups, tended to force the Friends to seek new homes where they would be free from persecution. Very likely this pressure, which kept the apostle of the Friends, George Fox, in prison for so many years, impelled Richard Hartshorne, a young Quaker of Heatherne, in northern Leicestershire, England,[1] to try his luck in a new country and to take ship for America.

Of Hartshorne's youth nothing is known; he was probably born around 1641, and from his general character and apparent prosperity, it may be inferred that he came from a respectable and hard-working family. There are occasional records of his brother, Hugh, who evidently made a good living as an upholsterer in London and who later bought an interest in New Jersey property.[2] Even the exact date of Richard Hartshorne's arrival in America cannot be definitely stated, for the first record of him, in 1669, shows that he was already working his farm in East Jersey;[3] presumably he came over some time between 1665 and 1669 and was perhaps about twenty-five at the time.

When Hartshone came to America, New Jersey had already been settled and chartered as a result of the English conquest of New York. Charles II had despatched his brother, the Duke of York, to New Amsterdam, and in 1664 the Dutch capitulated to the English without having fired a shot.

[1]Edwin Salter, "A History of Monmouth and Ocean Counties" (Bayonne, N. J.), Genealogical Record, p. xxxiv.

[2]William A. Whitehead, "East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments" (Newark, 1875), p. 179.

[3]Samuel Smith, "The History of the Colony of New Jersey" (Trenton, 1877), p. 63.

The Duke of York had his own favorites, and in order to placate two of them, he soon handed over New Jersey to his friends Sir George Carteret and Sir John Berkely, who thus received joint patents, as proprietors, to the entire province.[4] This was the signal for a vigorous English emigrating movement to the supposedly fertile shores of Jersey, which up to 1664 had been barred from the New Englanders by Dutch arms. Moreover, as the Quakers loomed large among the prospective settlers, the absentee proprietors made sure that the remunerative privilege of religious toleration was maintained.

Toleration was easy enough to grant, but no mere edict would protect the settlers from the menace of the native Indians: the land had to be bought. So, acting independently of the proprietors, a large group of Englishmen, many of whom were Quakers from Rhode Island and Long Island, contributed to a fund for the purchase of New Jersey. Accordingly, by three deeds of 1665, the Indians, in exchange for wampum, wine, tobacco, coats, powder, and lead, gave up their rights to the land, and Governor Richard Nichols of New York bestowed on the purchasers the Monmouth Patent, which assured them the title to the land, a seven year exemption from taxes, freedom of worship, and the right of representative government.[5] Of the twelve original patentees, only four actually moved to New Jersey to live, the rest remaining satisfied with their Long Island and Rhode Island homes. Emigration soon began, and in 1667 the first General Assembly was able to meet at Shrewsbury.

Such was the condition of Monmouth when Hartshorne established himself on the banks of the Navesink River (near Atlantic Highlands) and built himself a home at Portland Point. Although the records are scant, it would appear that

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[4]For authoritative information on this whole period of New Jersey history, see Edwin P. Tanner, "The Province of New Jersey" (New York, 1908); Charles M. Andrews, "The Colonial Period of American History" (New Haven, 1937), Vol. III; Donald L. Kemmerer, "Path to Freedom" (Princeton, 1940).

[5]Salter, "History of Monmouth," pp. 24-27.

he had made some arrangements with Nicholas Davis of Rhode Island, one of the twelve patentees to settle upon his land, but that the Indians threatened to tear down his house and kill his cattle. Hartshorne found out that only the patentees could buy land from the Indians and found himself faced with the possible loss of his holding. He struggeld along as best he could for a few months in 1669. Then, as he wrote: "I considered the thing as well I then was capable, and went to Gravesend and bought William Goulding out . . ."[6] As William Goulding was one of the original patentees, and had received lot twenty-five at the division of the town lots, the transaction made Hartshorne a patentee, with full powers of dealing with the Indians.[7]

In the same year that he bought Goulding's property, 1670, Hartshorne was married to Margaret Carr, the youngest daughter of a prominent Rhode Island Quaker, Robert Carr, who had been established in America since 1635.[8] Carr was one of the subscribers in the Monmouth purchase, and Hartshorne may well have become acquainted with his daughter while the business arrangements over the property were being concluded. In the early 1670's, then, Hartshorne was firmly established on his eight hundred acre property, and if his later prosperity is any indication of the industry of his younger years, he must have devoted himself vigorously to the exploitation of it.

There is little enough information about these early years in East Jersey, although it is obvious that many more Quaker families were continually moving in. In 1671, the foremost spiritual light of the Friends, George Fox, had fled to America, and in the following year, travelled up the coast from Delaware visiting many Quaker settlers. In May, he was in New Jersey, and to quote his own words:

". . . wee came to a place called Middle Towne in

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[6]Smith, "History of the Colony of New Jersey," p. 63, note x.

[7]Salter, "History of Monmouth," p. 30; cf. the Genealogical Record, p. xxxiii.

[8]"The Abridged Compendium of American Genealogy," edited by Frederick A. Virkus, Vol. III (Chicago, 1928), p. 665.

> New Jersey where we could not stay to have a meeting but went to a Friends house called Richard Hartshorne who is Hugh Hartshorne's brother . . . He received us gladly where we were refreshed for we were weary and then he carried us over a great water in his owne boat where we were almost all day agoeing untill night and to Long Island. We came to Grave Sands and the next morning though weary to Oyster Bay where there was a generall meeting . . ."[9]

From Oyster Bay, Fox journeyed to Rhode Island, and in the Fall, sailed back to New York. On August 20, 1672, we was again received by Hartshorne and may have spent a week with him. Fox's travels show that there were connections with the Quakers all along the coast, and that there must have been considerable unified activity among them.

Not long after Fox's departure, events took place in England which were to influence the future history of the young colony. For reasons unknown, Sir John Berkeley, who had been joint proprietor with Carteret since 1664, wished to give up his patent. In 1674, therefore, he sold out his share of New Jersey to two Quakers, John Fenwicke and Edward Byllynge, for £1000. But this negotiation was to be confused by the resumption of the Dutch war, which threatened the complete loss of the colony. Indeed, in the Fall of 1673, the Dutch had swooped down on Staten Island, and had soon afterwards reconquered New Jersey. This was a dangerous threat to the sixty odd settlers of Middletown, and fifty-three of them took the oath of allegiance to the Dutch.[10] Probably Richard Hartshorne took this oath, because his properties were confirmed and he was even able to lodge a protest against three men who, under the Dutch, had been given parts of his land in 1674. The Governor-General ordered him to prove his patent within six weeks.[11]

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[9]"The Journal of George Fox," edited by Norman Penney (Cambridge, 1911), II, 211.

[10]Salter, "History of Monmouth," p. 108.

[11]New Jersey Archives: "Documents relating to the Colonial History of New Jersey," edited by W. A. Whitehead, Vol. I (Newark, 1880), p. 143.

The necessity for that proof, however, ceased to exist, for two months earlier, February 19, 1674, the treaty of London had been signed and the Jersey lands were returned to the English, while Carteret's patent was reaffirmed. On the other hand, Berkely's claim, now held by Byllynge and Fenwick, was a matter of dispute which was not finally settled until 1676. William Penn had meanwhile interested himself in the possibilities of New Jersey as a haven for Quakers, and was one of the arbiters of the business. Fenwick was ultimately bought out and an agreement was made among Carteret, Byllynge, Penn, and two other Quakers, Lucas and Lawrie, whereby Carteret was to become proprietor of East Jersey, while the Quaker group was to be proprietor of West Jersey. This settlement, known as the Quintiparite Deed, was signed on July 1, 1676.

But West Jersey was unsettled, a veritable wilderness. Before Penn could send over Quaker emigrants it would be necessary to procure agreements with the Indians, it would be necessary to have the land surveyed and the sites of towns laid out. And for work of this sort, who was more suitably qualified than Richard Hartshorne? He was a staunch Quaker, of dependable character, had lived in Jersey for seven or eight years, and had recently acquired some reputation in England on the publication (1676) of his "Further Account of New Jersey, in an Abstract of Letters recently Writ from thence," dated from America, Nov. 12, 1675.

Penn and the others agreed that Hartshorne was the man. They wrote to him on August 26, 1676, and explained the situation to him. Hartshorne was to be empowered, with James Wasse and the bearer of the letter, Richard Guy, to cross the Delaware and find a "fit place to take up for a town, and agree with the natives for a tract of land." The thrifty Quakers assured Hartshorne: "We do intend to satisfy thee for any charge thou are at, and for thy pains." He was also warned to watch for Fenwick, and the fear was expressed that Fenwick might try to influence Guy, but "we hope that thou wilt ballance him to what is just and fair." With the letter

was sent a set of official instructions on the details of surveying and setting out of the land.[12]

Exactly how Hartshorne fulfilled this request from William Penn cannot be known. Nevertheless, West Jersey began to fill with Quaker settlers ,and by 1700, it had a considerable population.[13]

The question of the land had thus been settled for a while, but the controversies were by no means ended. So long as the proprietary form of government was to endure, there were to be the grumblings from the people who were obligated to pay quit rents to the absent proprietor. Richard Hartshone had evidently taken care of the duties entrusted to him by Penn, and while he had no quarrel with the proprietors, he found himself embroiled in a controversy with the local Indians, who claimed that although they had sold Sandy Hook to him in 1677, they still retained the rights of collecting plums there, and of hunting and fishing. Hartshone was considerably disturbed, for he had already suffered a good deal of annoyance from the natives. Finally, on August 8, 1678, he came to terms with the Indians, and for the royal sum of thirteen shillings, forced the Indians to give up all fishing and hunting rights.[14] But the annoyances connected with the Sandy Hook property were not to be terminated with this treaty. Scarcely had Hartshorne ejected the Indians when he himself was forced to concede to the governor the right of placing beacons and fortifications on Sandy Point; the government, however, expressed its willingness to pay and to give just satisfaction to Mr. Hartshorne.[15]

About this time, now approaching his fortieth birthday, Richard Hartshorne began to play a part in local politics. It

[12]Salter, "History of Monmouth," pp. 80-87.

[13]For the development of West Jersey, see Sydney G. Fisher, "The Quaker Colonies," Vol. VIII of the Chronicles of America (New Haven, 1919), pp. 130-40.

[14]Salter, "History of Monmouth," pp. 58-9.

[15]Governor Andros to Governor Carteret, March 8, 1680, in "Grants, Concessions and original Constitutions of New Jersey," edited by Leaming and Spicer (Phila., 1881), p. 673.

has already been mentioned that the General Assembly had been meeting since 1667, but it is not until 1679 that Hartshorne became a representative. At this time he was one of the delegates who were chosen to treat with the Indians of Piscataway concerning the prohibition of the sale of strong drink.[16] From now on, Hartshorne is continually active in politics, and comes more and more to be an influential member of the community and a leading figure of that anti-proprietary group which found its strongest adherents in Monmouth County.

II

In 1679, Sir George Carteret died; his property of East Jersey had to be sold to satisfy his creditors, and in 1680 it was purchased by William Penn and eleven other Quakers for £3400. Among these Quakers was Richard Hartshorne's brother, Hugh, who still lived in London. Shortly after the sale, each of the twelve purchasers again sold out part of his share, with the result that East Jersey was then held by twenty-four proprietors. Most of these lived in England, although others, most prominent of whom was Lewis Morris, resided in New Jersey and after 1684, were formed into a board of proprietors which acted hand-in-glove with the deputy governor. The proprietors formed a sort of local aristocracy and represented in some measure that form of political tyranny which was most onerous to the early American settlers.

Richard Hartshorne, although he was allied to the proprietary clique through his brother, always sympathized with the local land-owners, and he came to be one of the foremost spokesman on behalf of the farmers' rights. Meanwhile, his political career continued: in 1680 he was constable for Middletown, and in 1683, was returned as one of the fourteen deputies of East Jersey to the Provincial Council. A dispute was already in progress between the settlers and the governor, who represented the proprietary interests. The settlers had largely emigrated from New England and were outspoken

[16] *Ibid.*, p. 133.

in their demands for self-government and free-held property; they could not understand the right of the proprietors to obtain quit rents, and maintained that the re-grant of 1673 had assured them of their tenure as freeholders. Hartshorne took a conciliatory position in the controversy, and tried to effect a compromise of a lessened tax. He "declared as for his owne part he believed that all persons would pay for their pattented Land in those two Townes (Middletown and Shrewsbury) and for his owne part hee would."[17] The tax that Richard Hartshorne suggested was, however, not very great, consisting of but one-half bushel of wheat per hundred acres, and as he was unauthorized by his contingents to offer more, the matter rested there for the present. At the close of the sessions of the Assembly, Hartshorne's character and integrity received their full recognition when he was appointed sheriff for Monmouth County. He tried to excuse himself from the position, but it was the opinion of the Governor and his Council that "noe person in that County is more capable in respect of Estate or Capacity in understanding fitter to undergoe and execute the same," and his excuses were not accepted.[18]

Hartshorne's position in the county was now an enviable one, for his estate continued to prosper. By the 1680's Middletown had grown to be a settlement of about one hundred families and Hartshorne's own family was growing in a similar fashion: at his death in 1722 he left six children, Hugh, Mary Clayton, Katherine FitzRandolph, Sarah Taylor, Mercy Lawrence, and William. And as his family grew, he began to add to his estate. Taking advantage of a license he had procured in 1685, he bought five hundred acres of Indian land "on both sides of Manisquam River in Monmouth Co." early in 1685, which he could add to one hundred acres purchased from John Crawford the year before. Then in 1688, he bought out the patent of Walter Clarke of Rhode Island,

[17]New Jersey Archives: Vol. XIII, "Journal of the Governor and Council," I, 71.

[18]*Ibid.*, pp. 77-8.

which added five hundred more acres to his estate. If we add to these the confirmation of two hundred acres at Sandy Hook in 1692, and assume that he had sold none of his land acquired by the early patent, it appears that he must have owned something like two thousand acres in the vicinity of Middletown, Atlantic Highlands, and Sandy Hook.[19]

Meanwhile, the regime under the twenty-four proprietors was not going well; the deputy-governors were men of mediocre ability, and the people were presumptuous in their demands for representative government. In 1683, Governor Lawrie had tried to substitute a new set of laws, the "Fundamental Constitutions," for the original concession, but he had been so strongly resisted that he decided to let well enough alone, and did not call another Assembly until April, 1686. For this Assembly, Richard Hartshorne and Benjamin Burden were returned from Middletown, and when the Assembly met, Hartshorne was nominated as Speaker for the House. Then, for some offence which is not known, the arrest of Hartshorne was ordered by Governor Dongan of New York. The Assembly, however, refused to excute the order, and Hartshorne continued to fulfill his obligations as Speaker.[20] In this capacity, he was the mouthpiece of the people of the colony, who were to continue to fight for their rights and liberties down to 1776. He expressed the ideas of the settlers in a speech to the House: they were forced to put as much money into the land as did the proprietors in England; they built the roads and the bridges, and yet they had these onerous obligations forced upon them; they were asked to pay taxes to men who had no interest in the colony except as a source of revenue. Hartshorne suggested that they should refuse to vote supplies in reprisal, and summed up the keynote of their complaints when he declared that "they were not willing to maintaine a government against themselves." Already the note of the American Revolution was being sounded.[21]

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[19]New Jersey Archives: Vol. XXI, "Calendar of Records, 1664-1703," pp. 64, 68, 97, 199, 201.

[20]Whitehead, "East Jersey under the Proprietary Governments," p. 151.

[21]New Jersey Archives: Vol. XIII, "Journal of the Governor and Council," I, 143.

It was to be a decade or so, however, before matters came to a head. Meanwhile, Hartshorne served as a deputy in 1688, and in 1692 and 1693, through a period in colonial history which was for New England and New York one of great upset, although New Jersey managed to remain comparatively calm. It was in this period that the Stuart agent, Governor Andros, tried to consolidate New Jersey and New York by overthrowing the proprietary government. But as King James fell in 1689, the changes in administration had little effect in New Jersey, and after some feeble resistance, the need for a central government was such that the proprietors regained control, and they sent Andrew Hamilton to New Jersey as governor in 1692. Hamilton was a clever Scotsman, and for the next five years matters went along quietly, with regular meetings of the Assembly, and with the passage of useful legislation. Hartshorne was again elected Speaker of the House in 1695, and at this time was probably considered one of the most influential members of the conservative wing of the anti-proprietary group.

In 1697, the proprietors recalled Hamilton and appointed Jeremiah Basse as governor. Basse immediately embroiled the province in a conflict by siding with the people against the proprietary adherents, and went so far, in 1699, as to put a measure through the Assembly that would materially have damaged the political prestige of the proprietors. Basse was ultimately recalled, and although his successor, Hamilton, tried to calm the colony, it was too late; the damage had been done and the settlers were in an uproar. "A condition of violence and anarchy ensued. Proprietary officers were maltreated, and courts at Elizabethtown, Piscataway, and Newark were broken up amid scenes of the greatest violence. At Middletown the insurgents were particularly active . . ."[22]

At Middletown, Richard Salter was leader of the radical group and attempted to inspire the people to action which Hartshorne, in his position of deputy for that year, did his best to control. It is a dispatch from Hartshorne which gives

[22]Tanner, "The Province of New Jersey," p. 95.

an account of the revolt at Middletown: Morris, leader of the proprietors, had come into the town claiming that he would make the people submit to the government or use force. The people were in no mood to be cowed by threats, and when the sheriff attempted to take Salter into custody, they "banged him, broke his head, and sent him packing." Morris called on Governor Hamilton for aid, and when reenforcements of forty men arrived (July 19, 1700), they found one hundred settlers waiting for them. The dispatch remarks that but for some persuasion there would have been broken heads.[23] We may surmise that some of the persuasion was Richard Hartshorne's.

But the revolt was just beginning. Shortly after the Middletown incident, the governor was seized and imprisoned by the rebels, in what is generally known in East Jersey as the "Revolution." Other events brought the difficult situation to a satisfactory conclusion, however, for it had already been decided in England that the Crown should take over the government of the Jerseys. Extended negotiations took place, the arrangements were made, and the date of April 15, 1702, marks the end of the proprietary regime, the union of the two Jerseys, and the assumption of governmental control by the Crown of England. Lord Cornbury was sent out as the first royal governor.

III

Lord Cornbury had been given definite instructions to govern with a council and with a representative assembly. The latter was to sit alternately at Amboy and Burlington, and was to consist of twenty-four members, four from the two capitols, ten from West Jersey, and ten from East Jersey. To be a representative, one had to own a thousand acres of land in the division from which one was chosen.

The instructions called for the immediate convocation of the General Assembly, which met on Novmber 10, 1703, at Perth Amboy. Richard Hartshorne and Obadiah Bowne were the delegates from Monmouth. Hardly had the sessions begun,

[23]Letter of Andrew Bowne and Richard Hartshorne, Middletown, July 23, 1700, in New Jersey Archives: "Documents," II, 327-29.

however, when John Reid protested that Hartshorne was not qualified. A conference with the governor followed, and Hartshorne was directed to qualify himself as the law indicated. Thus he was forced to withdraw from the first Assembly under the royal governor. It was obvious that the proprietary clique had been anxious to rid itself of one of its Middletown antagonists, and while Hartshorne had never shown himself as violent in his opposition to the proprietors as Richard Salter, his influence was nevertheless considerable. Exactly what the nature of the improper qualifications was, is not apparent. Hartshorne must have held well over one thousand acres, although it must be noted that in 1703 he "made a deed of a gift of the Highlands estate, including Sandy Hook, to his son William," after which he took up residence in Middletown.[24] It may well be that the gift so diminished the properties held in his own name that his enemies were able to make use of the technicality in barring him from his seat in the Assembly.

Hartshorne was nevertheless admitted to the second Assembly, held in 1704, and was a representative, along with John Bowne, from Monmouth County. That his qualifications were not questioned at this time is substantiating proof that Coxe, and other anti-proprietary leaders, had put through a "deal" with the non too scrupulous Cornbury, whereby the anti-proprietary party was to get a majority in the Assembly in return for a slight remuneration to be awarded the governor. The slight remuneration was raised largely by John Bowne and Richard Salter, and the small assessments, raised all over East Jersey, were known as the "Blind Tax" or "Cornbury Fund." While the average donation was about five pounds, it must be noted that Hartshorne subscribed thirty pounds as his share.

After the Assembly of 1704, Hartshorne seems to drop out of active participation in politics; at least, the public documents, from 1704 on, bear no reference to his holding office of any sort. Why he should have given up his career at the age of thirty-three, with twenty years of life ahead of him,

[24]Salter, "History of Monmouth," Genealogical Record, pp. xxxiii-iv.

can hardly be determined. He may have been forced into retirement by the investigation of the proprietary group into the "Cornbury Fund," or he may have been merely disgusted with the corrupt and immoral Cornbury, the infamies of whose private and public life must have been oppressive to every honest Quaker. But having retired, Hartshorne apparently settled down to a life of comparative inactivity. From this time until his death in 1722 there is but one reference to him in the records, and that reference none too flattering. During Queen Anne's War, in 1711, the royal governor, Hunter, had been required to supply three hundred boats for the expedition against Canada, and in fulfilling this obligation, he had ordered the carpenters to take some wood from Sandy Hook. No less than six years later, he became aware that Hartshorne was suing him for having cut timber illegally. Hunter was understandably distressed at the accusation: to be sued for following Her Majesty's instructions, for cutting wood "in a country where all the value of timber is in the labour of the cutting,"[25] was more than he could stand, and he complained to his superiors of Hartshorne's injustice in no uncertain terms. Why Hartshorne should have made so much of a petty infraction must remain unknown; perhaps he had a personal grudge against Hunter, or perhaps, as a Quaker, he was perturbed at seeing his property used for purposes of war.

For the last few years of Richard Hartshorne's life, there is no information. His wife had died before him, for in his will he mentions her grave, located near the homestead. He himself died in May, 1722, and was survived by his six children; his sons William and Hugh became his executors. In his will he wrote: "My body is to be decently buried . . . My will is, all my debts to be paid and it is not in my memory that I owe five shillings to any man or woman." Besides the land designated as a family burying ground, he left a legacy for the poor of Shrewsbury Monthly Meeting of Quakers.[26]

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[25]New Jersey Archives: "Documents," IV, 318.

[26]Salter, "History of Monmouth," Genealogical Record, p. xxxiv; New Jersey Archives: Vol. XXIII, "Calendar of New Jersey Wills," I, 215.

So, at the age of eighty, Richard Hartshorne died in the town he had done so much to establish. He could look back on a long and eventful life—back to the late 'sixties of the preceding century, when, with a handful of other adventurous Quakers, he had carved out his holdings on the Navesink Highlands, protecting them as best he might from the ravages of the wild beasts and Indians. He had lived to see the community grow to sixty, to a hundred, to a thousand inhabitants, and had seen his own family grow and his land increase from a few hundred to several thousand acres. He could remember the early General Assemblies, when the towns that were represented could have been counted on his fingers; he could remember the old days under Carteret, the fierce struggle against the proprietors, the "Revolution," and the assumption of control by the Crown—and he could recall the important roles he had played during all those periods.

But as to Hartshorne's own character we have little evidence. By far the majority of references to him are concerned with his political career or with his ownership of land; even the few letters of his that have been published are extremely impersonal. Yet throughout his life are found constant indications that he was a man of temperate and conciliating nature, and his whole career seems to show tendencies toward the Quaker virtues of moderation, peacefulness, tolerance, and honesty. An early appraisal of him records him as a man "of good reputation, public character, and of a benevolent disposition."[27] It must be remembered, nevertheless, that while honest, he was undoubtedly a hard man—of the grim, tight-fisted type that is found so often among the original settlers who fled to this country for the sake of security from persecution. Honest and religious, but stiff-necked and thrifty, there, probably, is the portrait of Richard Hartshorne of Middletown.

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[27]Robert Proud, "The History of Pennsylvania" (Phila., 1797), I, 138, n.

A REPRODUCTION OF THE OLD MENDHAM PRESBYTERIAN SESSION BOOK MORRIS COUNTY, NEW JERSEY

BY HELEN M. WRIGHT,
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Editor's Note: The author was for three years a member of the Board of Trustees of the Morris County Historical Society and was chairman of the Research Committee of the Society under which the reproduction of the old record book was done. Her ancestors are from Morris County and her summer home is at Brookside, in that county. The project might well serve as a model for any society, state, county, or local, in preserving and making available through reproductions any records in their possession which are unique. By microfilm and projection prints with adequate indices, the research value of the original is actually increased, its accessibility is greatly enlarged, and the original itself is spared the wear and tear of use, however careful.

The early Session Book of the First Presbyterian Congregation of Mendham, Morris County, New Jersey, begun during the pastorate of the Rev. Mr. Francis Peppard, in August of 1776, has been reproduced, during the past year, as a set of projection prints made from a microfilm which was taken from the original manuscript when the "Hill Top Church" was about to celebrate its two hundredth anniversary. The photographic work had been done by courtesy of the New York Public Library, in 1938. The recently projected facsimile was indexed and edited for convenience.

Perpetuation of the old record book, and extension of its service, was a project of the Research Committee of the Morris County Historical Society last spring. During the greater part of the Society's fiscal year, 1947-1948, the Committee aimed to abstract, and prepare for public use, as much data as possible from the inaccessible archives of the County, much of which had not been listed in the Historical Records Surveys, made by the Works Progress Administration, or in other general reference books. The subjects reported upon by active members were "The State Parks Wholly or Partly Within the County," by Mr. Owen Winston, "The Borough Parks," by Helen M. Wright, "Summarized Information on the Congregational and Baptist Churches in the County," by Miss Ada

Sherman and Rev. Russell B. Barbour, "A Card Index of Morris County Railroads," especially those that had directly affected the development of Morris County, compiled by Thomas Taber and Donald Van Cort, and a listing of "Petitions Made for the Keeping of Inns Between 1740 and 1781, with Abstracts of Early Laws Regulating the Inns and the Character of Their Keepers," made by Mrs. William Talbot from minutes of the county courts and books of colonial laws.

Observation had shown that the sources sought most frequently within the county—outside the land, mortgage and surrogate's records at the Court House—had been the session books, trustees' minutes, and vital statistics of the various churches. It was felt, therefore, that an effort should be made to reproduce as much of the county's original material as possible so that its early data might be more easily available to researchers. The work could be started by doing at least one book that year.

A history, and the greater part of the records, of the Presbyterian churches of Morristown, Rockaway, and Mendham had been published a number of years ago, but no effort had been made to duplicate any of the original church books. In such an atomic age as the present, it seemed as if every archive of the colonial and early American period ought to be reproduced by some photographic process, as far as possible, in order to insure preservation in the original form.

The Research Committee, therefore, felt it should extend its function beyond the work of abstracting information, and advised making a facsimile of what was, before the late war, one of the most sought private manuscripts in the county—the "Mendom Congregation Book." During World War II the original book was placed in a fire-proof vault for protection, and could not be used. Applications for information about early church members had to be referred to the published history and records, in the "First Presbyterian Congregation of Mendham, Morris County, New Jersey: 1738-1938," compiled for the two hundredth anniversary of the church, in 1938-1939. A few months earlier a smaller book of memoirs,

called "Two Hundreth Anniversary Reminiscenses," had been printed and sold on the anniversary day. Both of those books had proved of great service, but nothing could give as clear a picture of that colonial American Society as did the full text of the original Session and Trustees' Book upon which the histories had been based.

The work of photostating public records had been carried on in an admirable, though comparatively small way for a number of years by State and County offices, in New Jersey and in many other states. Microfilming has also been used by State, historical, and public libraries for many years and in some places has practically superseded the use of photostatic processes, but it has serious limitations. For research workers who must take careful notes, the reel of a microfilm must be held in one position for some time, thus often becoming puckered and in time destroyed. In the case of the Mendham book, no positive reel had been made and there was danger of losing the original negative. It was not until after one set of prints had been finished that a positive reel was made for reading purposes, and the old negative was cleaned and improved.

Since readers seeking information about members of the Mendham Presbyterian Church often sought the Morristown Library, if not the Mendham Manse, first, the New York Public Library frequently proved as inaccessible as the Morristown vault. On the other hand searchers who used the New York Library first were often saved a trip to New Jersey. Therefore, while the metropolitan library was to be commended for having extended its microfilm service beyond its city and state boundary, yet it was obvious there was a need for another copy of the Mendham book to be housed within Morris County. The proposal to duplicate the Mendham Session Book was therefore presented to the Board of Trustees of the Morris County Historical Society and was immediately approved. The writing of the introduction, and compilation of the name and subject indices, naturally devolved upon the Chairman of the Committee who accepted the work as a sequel to her earlier

history of that church. She was assisted, in taking the names from the prints, by Miss Alice Throckmorton, Regent of Paulus Hook Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, and member of the Board of the Woman's Branch of the New Jersey Historical Society.

The use of the facsimile of this historical manuscript will be appreciated by research workers throughout the United States and Canada, since the trek from Mendham to widely separated parts of this country has become evident through the many inquiries from descendants of early pioneers who have traced their ancestors to this county and to Mendham township.

Through these minutes of the Session, and later Trustees' meetings, are revealed interesting glimpses of the colonial mind and the way it handled its problems. There are many instances of personal inhibitions, on the one hand, and of economic and religious pressures on the other hand. Through the partly parallel records of the Session and the Trustees, one may trace certain ecclesiastic and social reforms as they found their way gradually into community life.

Mendham records did not begin until a century after the English took possession of this part of the early Dutch province of New Netherland. They cannot be compared with the earlier archives of New Amsterdam, Old Bergen, Newark, and perhaps other parts of New Jersey. They have been kept almost continuously from 1766, and have been well cared for.

Mendham was the fifth of the townships created within the present bounds of Morris County. This year it will pass the two hundredth milestone since its formation as a political unit, March 29th, 1749. At first it included most of what was set apart as Chester township, in 1799, and all of what became Randolph township in 1805. That part of the county, especially the southwestern portion on both sides of the Raritan river, had formerly been known as Rocksiticus—sometimes spelled Roxiticus.

The township was traversed by two highways that diverged northwest and southwest from the county-seat, Morristown.

They were built along old Indian trails and mine roads. The first turnpike—called the Morris, and later the Morris and Sussex was provided for by a charter dated March 9, 1801, and ran across the northern part of the township, indicating the main line of travel at that time. It passed through Mt. Freedom (Walnut Grove), Succasunna, Drakestown, and Stanhope to Newtown the county-seat of Sussex county. The southern prong of the forked highways was the Washington Turnpike, chartered March 3, 1806. It ran from Morristown to Phillipsburg by way of Mendham village, Chester, German Valley, to Schooley's Mountain where again it forked, one road going to Hackettstown and the main line running through Pleasant Grove to Phillipsburg on the Delaware river. Both highways started from Elizabethtown, on the coast. Between the hills in the "upper part of Mendham" and those in the southern portion lay long valleys of the Whippany river, a tributary of the Passaic, and of the Allamatonck, or Black River, and other tributaries of the Raritan. Crossroads connecting the hill settlements were steep, very rough, and in bad weather dangerous.

Although the parish of the Mendham Presbyterian Church covered the entire township, there is little evidence in Mendham records of membership or regular support from the extremely northern or western plantations. Only through a study of the minutes of the churches that mothered later societies formed within the township may one discover the various forms of religious life that sprang almost simultaneously in that section of the country. Congregationalists, Presbyterians, and Friends were worshipping in their own meeting houses by 1748. At Black River (Chester), straggling members from the Congregational organization at Southold, Long Island, had been settling since 1713/14 and holding informal gatherings. By the time Mendham was formed from Morris, Hanover, and Roxbury, in 1749, New Lights and Presbyterians were the religious leaders in the southern part of the township. In the north Quakers had represented proprietary interests in the mines even before 1715/17, but had not been strong enough to organize before the middle of the eighteenth century. Not-

withstanding the existence of active groups of other sects, the Presbyterian church seems to have led in that community, both in organization and in numbers.

Since publication of the Mendham church history, some original papers have been found, in an early collection made by James Alexander, Surveyor General of East and West Jerseys, which gave evidence that the Rocksiticus society was organized even before 1738, the date of founding now generally accepted. One of the papers was a letter from representatives of the Rocksiticus congregation dated April 24, 1741, requesting the deed for the minister's land (glebe) which they had been expecting for some time. Attached to the letter was a draft of a survey made to John Budd, Thomas Kent, Ebenezer Doud, and John Lyon, in June of 1736, describing the bounds of "Land for Minister of Rocksiticus." With them was also a letter from John Budd of Hanover, written in August of 1736, which referred to the land "applyed to public use in trust, etc. . . ." and commented upon the young "gentleman" they were expecting to have preach as a "probationer" at Rocksiticus. If the young man Mr. Budd had in mind was Eliab Byram, the latter evidently decided to enter Harvard College first. He was listed as eighteen years of age when his class at Harvard was "placed" in the spring of 1737. He graduated in 1740, but did not move to Rocksiticus until his parents bought land there in 1743/44, according to local history.

In 1736 Ebenezer Byram, the father of the first pastor at Rocksiticus, later called Mendham, was a prominent resident of Bridgewater, Massachusetts. He became a follower of George Whitefield while there. By 1743, Eliab Byram, the son, was preaching to the Congregationalists "at Rocksiticus," according to the old "Parsonage Book" of the Congregational Church of Chester, New Jersey. It was the Schism that divided the Rocksiticus organization so that, by 1744, a large number of its members withdrew and joined a group of worshippers at Black River (Chester). After 1743 the log meeting house on the hill east of the Raritan river was practically abandoned. By 1747 the Congregationalists, led by Samuel Sweezy, had

built a church that was large enough to accommodate four hundred persons. Thus the western faction of the Rocksiticus organization held to the Congregational form of worship and government, while those who followed the young preacher erected a house of worship a mile east of the Raritan site and established a Presbyterian settlement that became the village of Mendham. The church was dedicated in 1745.

The effect of the Schism is shown in the Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia where is is recorded, in 1738, that the Rocksiticus congregation, with a number of others, petitioned to be erected into a new group called the Presbytery of New Brunswick. That the congregation was divided is evident when the church withdrew the following year and was returned to the Presbytery of New York.

Mendham church records before 1766 have been lost, if they ever existed. It is only through the Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia one learns that "Elder" Elisha Beach represented Mendham at the Assembly held in New York in 1775. The absence of information in the Session Book, concerning elders, is hard to explain. Even the Session, with Rev. Thomas S. Hastings' assistance, was unable to gather complete data for the Manual, compiled in 1885, regarding the elders.

In the Manual, Eliab Byram was "ordained and installed" in May of 1744, but it is through the court records one learns he did not take his oaths of office until 1747. In the Minutes of the Morris County Court of General Sessions, for September 15th, 1747, appears the following unfinished memorandum:

> "Whereas the Rev. Mr. Eliab Byram a protistant Decenting Minister of the Gospel Logally Settled in the work of the Ministry within the County appeared in Court Took the Oath of Elegiance and Supremecie and all the other oaths proper and assenting to the thirty nine Articles of the Church of England with the common exceptions allowed to Decenting ministers . . ." (Vol. 1, 202)

The Presbyterian congregation, as well as the township of Mendham, grew steadily as settlers from New England, from Newark, Long Island, Connecticut, Rhode Island, and

New York, bought farms in this locality and established themselves in their trades.

In the northern part of Mendham, Friends representing West Jersey proprietary interests had formed a Society and, on 7th month 18, 1746, the Woodbridge Monthly Meeting authorized them to hold weekly worship as a preparatory meeting of its organization. The record of the action runs as follows:

> "Sum friends from Hanover Township Requests to hold a meeting on the first dayes of the weak at the house of William Schooley which this meeting approves."

Through evidence found in land records and the recollections of old residents, historians claim that a Plain Friend's meeting house was first built about 1747, at the rear of Daniel Lampson's homestead, between Mill Brook and Dover. In 1758 a new sanctuary was erected a quarter of a mile west of the old one. Although services have been abandoned there for many years, the old frame building still stands in good condition, surrounded by the burial ground. The families found in the Friends' records marked "of Mendham," or "of Randolph," were the Kirkbrides, Schooleys, Dells, Hences, Millers, Brothertons, Fitz-Randolphs, Willsons, Sammises, and Shotwells.[1]

While George Whitefield's visits to Woodbridge and Basking Ridge, in April and November of 1740, helped to stimulate the desire for greater religious independence throughout the Jerseys, it was the friendship between the Byrams of Bridgewater, and the distinguished English preacher that directed the thought of Mendham township toward Whitefield's great movement. There is no doubt that the Mendham Pres-

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[1]U. S. Works Progress Administration: New York City Archives—Religious Society of Friends. 1940. Catalogues and locates many of the New Jersey Friends records. Others may be at Swarthmore College, or at the Friends' Meeting in Philadelphia. Some are still in private hands. Percy E. Clapp, Curator for the Joint Committee (Plain, or Orthodox, and Hicksite) responsible for the Friends records, has charge of the Record Room at 221 East 15th St., New York City. Minutes, births, deaths, marriages and removals are kept in separate books, or registers.

byterian congregation, made up largely of Bridgewater families, their relatives and friends, was a direct outgrowth of it.

Not until after the American Revolution did other denominations begin to take form in the northern part of the township. Lutherans and Dutch Reformed groups were strong in the valleys of the Raritan and Pequannoch rivers, but they never had an organization within the Mendham area. The Methodists had an early start in Flanders, and in 1799 were worshipping a few miles north of the home of Sylvanus Lawrence, on the mountain road to Dover, near Succasunna. Later they held services in the large stone barn on the same Lawrence farm, owned by the son Daniel. Not until 1833 were they strong enough to complete a meeting house, first at Mill Brook (in Randolph township after 1805), and a second one in Mendham village where earlier efforts to buy a lot had many times been prevented by "determined opposition." In 1838 a church was built in Dover, and in 1849 Walnut Grove (Mt. Freedom) Methodists finished a sanctuary "across from" the old Baptist house they had been using for several years. This growth of Wesleyan and Whitefield's doctrines followed many years of suppressed worship led by laymen and local preachers.[2]

The Baptists of Mt. Freedom have been the least known of that section. Writers announced that the Baptist history had "not been preserved." A search through the most probable channel, the old Baptist church of Morristown, revealed the preservation of two Baptist Minute Books in the possession of a member of the Morristown congregation descended from a founder of the Mount Freedom church. From those two books and from deeds of land transfers, recorded in the Morris County Court House, the following brief narrative has been compiled by the writer.

Under the leadership of "Elder", or "The Reverend Isaac Price," a member of the Baptist church of Morristown who

[2]Helen M. Wright: "Methodist Episcopal Church, Mendham, Morris County, New Jersey." 1938. pp. 31-33. Also "The First Presbyterian Congregation, Mendham, Morris County, New Jersey, History and Records." 1939. p. 99.

apparently removed to Mount Freedom in the township of Mendham about 1783, a small group of worshippers from that section united to take up a subscription for a parsonage lot of eleven and three-quarters acres. The purchase was made for Mr. Price in 1793, but the land later had to be sold for lack of necessary funds with which to meet the payments.

The efforts of the group continued, however, since records kept in the first minute book credited members for labor, materials, and money given toward the building of a meeting house, between 1792 and 1798. Mr. Price was apparently the leader in the organization of this "Parish of Mount freedom in the Township of Mendham," since he was referred to as president of the parish and at the same time served as clerk. He acted in both capacities at the meeting at which it was agreed to a Baptist church, "but to be free for other Denominations at the agreement of the trustees . . ."—October ye 3d 1795. In 1794 he was appointed to preach every Sunday at the Mount Olive, or Schooleys Mountain Baptist Church, a few miles west of Mount Freedom.

Those who subscribed to the Article of Organization, on March 21, 1796, were: David Youngs, Daniel Owen, Jesse Smith, Jeremiah Pool, Isaac Price, Israel Aber Junr., William Denman, James Wilkerson, William Hulburd, John Owen, Jacob Johnson, Caleb Chadwick, Ephraim Hulburd, Benjamin Hulburd, Henry Bonnel, Ezra Owen, and Uriah Brown. (Book I, 7) For awhile the church seemed to hold those few families together, but gradually doctrinal differences and financial problems weakened them.

There were ten new members who took part in the re-establishment of the church under a Constitution that prescribed among other Baptist doctrines,

> "particular redemption . . . the final preservation of the saints in grace, Water baptism by emertion on a profession of repentance toward God and faiths in our Lord Jesus Christ, and the eternal punishment of the wicked in as unlimited a sense as the happiness of the ritchous . . ."

The Rev. William Van Horne, pastor of the Baptist church at Scotch Plains, and Rev. Lebbeus Lathrop, of Mount Bethel, officiated, and the Constitution was signed by "Eld Benjamin Blackford, John Dalrymple, Caleb Meeker, Obediah Hedden, Henry Persons, Joseph Smith, Isaac Schooley, Mary Blackford, Susan Meeker, Elizabeth Osborn." (Book II, 5) Only two or three names from the earlier group appeared later on the new rolls, but there was evidence of growth and of affiliation with the Baptist Conventions of New Jersey as late as 1832, and with the New York Association, in 1836. In 1847 the church and ground were sold, with the exception of the cemetery which remains overgrown and almost forgotten. For a number of years the Meeting House was used by the Methodists.

With the gradual improvement of roads and spread of population across the country, the strong Presbyterian church in Mendham reached out to isolated sections of the surrounding hills. The pastors held regular Sunday afternoon services in the school houses of all parts of the parish. Often the various denominations took turns, but since the Mendham Presbyterian church was the largest, the best provided for, and usually had a regularly installed minister, its pastor was the best known and most widely called for. Younger generations of Mendham families occasionally removed to the "upper part" of the old township which became Randolph, and by 1820 they united with some of the early Baptist constituency and others to form a new Presbyterian Church of Mount Freedom.

Under the guidance of the Reverend Samuel Hanson Cox, of Mendham, and Rev. Jacob Green, of Succasunna, grandson of the distinguished Rev. Jacob Green of Hanover, the new congregation was organized on July 9th, 1820. At the same time three members were ordained as ruling elders: Messers Elijah D. Wells, Jacob Drake, and John Corwin. Their first pastor was the Rev. Jacob Briant who was installed November 12, 1824. The congregation built an attractive meeting house, and the activities of the church proved a strong influence in the community. After the extension of Presbyterianism into

Randolph township, the life of the Friends' Meeting seemed to ebb with that of the Baptists. Methodism alone seemed to continue and grow.

With this swift sketch of the religions of early Mendham, one should have a better understanding of the conditions surrounding, and the importance of, the long loved Hilltop Church. The Rev. Francis Peppard, whose name appears on the first page of the Session Book, was the third pastor at Mendham. He followed the Reverend Mr. John Pierson who had been called from the distinguished Presbyterian church at Woodbridge, New Jersey. Although there is no book to tell the story of Mr. Pierson's nine years at Mendham, the continuous annals of the Woodbridge church are proof of his having had them kept during his thirty-eight years in that charge. As the youngest son of the Reverend Abraham Pierson, first President of Yale College, Mr. Pierson naturally was a graduate of that institution. He was a leader in educational circles in New Jersey and was for years a trustee of the College of New Jersey, at Princeton.

Mr. Peppard was the first Princeton student to be called to Mendham, and he must have felt the responsibility of following so distinguished a predecessor. He probably substituted at Mendham before he was ordained and installed, in 1764. His Sessions records began with the purchase of the "Mendom Congregation Book Bought August th 21 1766 price Six shillings york." On that same day the first minutes were entered.

The important business of the first recorded meeting was to vote on a plan to assess the seats and pews for the minister's salary, and to elect eleven men to seat the people for the year. Three months later the congregation met again to decide whether Rev'd Mr. Francis Peppard should be continued where he then lived, and that they build on that place, or not. It was voted in the affirmative. Later the minister was voted three tons of "Good hea" until the congregation could provide other ways of paying him. Finally a committee of five men was

elected to project and carry on the "Building of Mr. Peppard's House."

In 1767 three congregational meetings were held. In March trustees for the parsonage were chosen, and a committee of four to collect the minister's salary. At that time of the year the choice of a sexton to sweep the meeting house was also made. In August five men, John Cary, Elisha Beach, Ezra Cary, Zebulon Riggs, and David Thompson, were elected to represent the congregation in the Presbytery. In September the problem seemed to be whether or not those responsible for paying the bills should also be collectors. Approval of the suggestion was followed by the appointment of two men, John Cary and Asa Cook, to levy the assessments.

The next year three meetings were again held—one in March for the selection of clerk, trustees and sexton; one in early October to extend a call to Rev. Thomas Lewis and agree upon his salary; and another ten days later to elect a new building committee to "See it Done." The addition of an end to the "New Parsonage," and the need for seeing the work done, seem to imply, in the light of earlier votes, tedious delays that may have accounted for Mr. Peppard's leaving at that time.

The election of two Boards of Trustees, in March of 1768, raises a question as to the meaning of the word "parsonage." As commonly used at that time, it meant either the land provided by English custom for church support, called the glebe, or the house in which the clergyman of a parish lived. Both senses are implied in the various uses of the word in this Session book, as may be seen by a careful study of the index. The exact location of either of the early manses has not been determined. Mrs. E. J. Rood, of Mendham, who wrote a good deal of genealogy and local history in the 1930's, was convinced that Mr. Peppard's house was on East Main Street, almost at right angles with the back of the present church property. That would have placed it, in the parlance of its day, on the King's Road and not far from the headspring of the Passaic.

Mr. Thomas Lewis was another Yale graduate (1741) and an older man than Mr. Peppard. He was installed at Mendham in 1769 and was one of the two pastors who carried the church through the Revolutionary period. How one wishes his faithful Clerk, Asa Cooke, had been inspired to record at least some of the experiences that the congregation must have faced. Neither riots, pestilence, nor the encampment of Continental forces so near the village appeared to break the regular order of elections. When Sessions could not be held at the Meeting House they were called at the home of the moderator, or at some other convenient place. Again the Subject Index enables one to follow the course of events as well as they were recorded.

Not even the passing of this devoted pastor is commented upon in the record. Only the old red sandstone, directly back of the church, bears tribute to his name; as one reads: "IN MEMORY of ye Reverend Thomas Lewis, lete Minister of ye Gospel in Mendom who Died August ye 20th A. D. 1777, aged 63 years." Of him the Rev. Joseph F. Tuttle has written: ". . . he preached and prayed national independence, as part of the Gospel." He died just as the smallpox was attacking the members of this parish and the nearby encampment, full force; and probably as a result of it.

The presence of a substantial manpower in the Mendham church, during and directly after the Revolution, compels one to recall that they were largely older men who kept the mills, forges, tanneries, and factories at work to provide the meal, lumber, iron, leather, woolen and woven goods demanded by General Washington for his troops. The long list of twenty collectors elected to solicit for the salary of the Rev. John Joline, Mr. Lewis's successor, illustrates how many able bodied men could still be summoned for service in the church, in 1786.

The call of Mr. John Joline, the second Princeton graduate, in 1778, was given in the midst of revolutionary disturbances. While the Mendham records show only a hesitancy in accepting him as a regular pastor, the minutes of the Presbytery of New York state clearly that the delay in Mr. Joline's ordina-

tion was due to the state's "being invaded by the enemy at the time appointed." He was not installed at Mendham until October of 1780.

During the sixteen years Mr. Joline was with the Mendham congregation the records show more changes in organization management than during any other pastorate. The increase in the number of solicitors for the support of the church lessened the amount of work for each one and made possible wider contracts in the community. In 1786 the congregation was incorporated under the law of the State and that act necessitated the election of a "Board of Trustees of the Parish." With the existence of that body, minutes of Trustees' meetings appeared in the Session Book interspersed with those of Session meetings. Methods of handling church money changed, various persons being charged with its care, its investment, and with the payment of bills and collection of pledges from delinquent subscribers.

In the conduct of services there were also innovations. Music supplanted the reading of psalms at least for half the time, men and women were seated on opposite sides of the church, apparently as a means of improving the order and attention during meeting. A bell was purchased and rung as a summons to worship, and used to toll the curfew at nine o'clock during the winter months. The sexton became a bell-ringer with increased wages.

The sexton's work was a sacred responsibility. If elections to that function are followed through, they tell an interesting story of their own. Junior and senior members of the best families of Mendham were chosen for that work. A comparison of the list of sextons with that of the moderators and clerks representing the most influential and distinguished members of the community, shows enough correspondence to warrant concluding that either Mendham church men were especially democratic in spirit or that the responsibility was a stepping stone to higher offices.

A quick glance at the Subject Index will show the following names in chronological order: MODERATORS—John Cary,

Samuel McIlrath, Ezra Cary, John Cary, Ezra Cary, John Cary, Stephen More, John Cary, Zebulon Riggs, John Cary, Artemas Day, David Thompson, John Cary, Esq. Thompson, Esq. Dod, Esq. Thompson, Esq. Babbit, Rev. Mr. Richards, Dr. Upson, Wm. Leddell, Japhet Byram, Dr. Upson, Preserve Riggs, Jesse Upson, Ebenezer Drake, Nehemiah Losey, Jesse Upson, Darius Babbitt, Judge Thompson, Japhet Byram, Rev. McDowell, Jesse Upson, Japhet Byram, John Babbit, Jesse Upson, James Ballentine. SEXTONS—Joseph Beedle, Artemas Day, Edward Byram, John Cary, George Hull, Mr. Lewis, Joseph Beedle, David Bunel, John Lyon, Artemis Day, Japhet Byram, David Hudson, David Bunel, Steven Beach, Elisha Beach, John Cary Senr, Elisha Beach, Daniel Bunel, Elisha Beach Jr., Samuel McCurdy, Elisha Beach, Luther Bunnel, Benjamin Beach, Erasmus Babbit, Aaron Schenck, Stephen Babbit, Carret Schenck. CLERKS—Asa Cooke, William Hudson, John Wright, Luther Conkling, Stephen Thompson, Jesse Upson Esq., Elias Hudson, James W. Drake, Joel C. Homan, John Latham, J. C. Homan, David Homer, Mahlon Pitney Jr., Joel C. Homan, J. W. Drake.

There are many other interesting comparisons suggesting further inquiries into the local history of that typical community. If the Township Minute books and the Morris County Court minutes could be reproduced for a corresponding period, and in the same manner as the church Session Book has been done, there would be ample material for a local history that would pass unquestionably above traditional method. This Mendham township, and several others in the county of Morris, are particularly fortunate in having preserved both their township and church books. They have treasures of information that should be duplicated for the benefit of research workers.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

EARLY MENDHAM CHURCH MANUSCRIPTS—UNPUBLISHED RECORDS

ALEXANDER PAPERS—Collection of James Alexander, Surveyor General of East and West Jerseys between 1717/18 and 1756. At the New York Historical Society, where the larger part of the collection is to be found, are the following drafts of surveys:

Draft of survey, June 1736, "of Land for Minister at Rocksiticus," (Mendham after 1749)
Letter from John Budd, Hanover, N. J., to Jas. Alexander dated 6th 8br 1736, regarding probationer at Rocksiticus.
Request from Rocksiticus Committee for "the writing concerning the ministers Land," dated February ye 2d 1741/2.

BAPTIST MEETINGS—Minutes of the Parish of Mount Freedom in the Township of Mendham, New Jersey. Begin 1797, but revert to 1795 and earlier. Minutes of . . . the Baptist Church of Mount Freedom . . . in Mendham . . . from the 15th day of May . . . 1802.

CONGREGATIONAL MEETINGS—"Old Parsonage Book" of the Congregational Church of Chester, New Jersey. Begins 1797. Church claims organization in 1740.
A draft of a "Black River Tract," dated 1749, shows position of a church, probably the Chester Congregational. (Alexander)

FRIENDS MONTHLY MEETINGS—Minutes of Woodbridge M. M. Vol. 1, 1704, includes data from 1686. Hanover (Randolph) Preparatory Meeting recorded as "allowed" 7 mo. 18 1746. as part of Woodbridge (later Rahway and Plainfield) M. M. (p. 66). Housed at Friends Record Room, 221 East 15th Street, New York City.

METHODIST MEETINGS—Mill Brook Methodist Episcopal Church Records begin 1872; called Mill Brook and Walnut Grove. A paper by Alonzo B. Searing, of that place, gives history of the church as beginning 1799 informally. It was incorporated 1832.
Mendham M. E. Church Minutes and Records begin 1848. but historical sketch associated the Society with Mill Brook and dates it back to 1827. Incorporation 1881. The church is recorded in early Minutes of the M. E. Church.
Walnut Grove Church (M.E.) records are found in those of the Succasunna M. E. Church 1852, 1856-1862. From 1863-1870 they were in Mendham M.E. Church records; 1872 and later, Mill Brook. A letter by Cornelia E. Thompson dated Jan. 27. 1850, comments on the new church the Methodists had built. Incorporated 1854.

PRESBYTERIAN SESSION—"Mendom Congregation Book" begins 1766. Organization date, 1738, is based on earliest mention of the "church at Rocksiticus" in Minutes of the Synod of Philadelphia, published in "Records of the Presbyterian Church of the U. S. A., 1706-1788." Inc. 1786.

MORRIS COUNTY COURT RECORDS—Minutes of the Court of General Sessions—1740, Mar. 26. Register of Incorporations in Book A of Religious Societies. Land transfers, mortgages, etc., in Clerk's Office.

U. S., Works Progress Administration—Historical Records Survey. Church Archives of N. J. 1934. (Catalogue) New York City Church Archives: Religious Society of Friends; 1940

THE ORDER BOOK OF LIEUT. COLONEL FRANCIS BARBER

(*Continued*)

As the Beugle horns have not arrived, officers commanding columns to provide two conk shells for their respective columns in lieu of the horns.

After orders: The army to be in readiness to march at eight oClock tomorrow morning. The first gun a signal for the General to beat—the second for the Assemblee & the third for the march to beat.

All the pack horses to be loaded with Commissy's & military stores. The tents & officers baggage to be loaded on the top of them, so that no horses are to be appropriated to the latter purpose until circumstances will admit.

Hd Qrs Fort Sullivan 25th Augt. Parole Brorgan C Sign Amboy

Brigadier of the day Gen Maxwell Field officer of the day Lt Colo Reid Brigade Major Ross

The Brigade commissaries who have drawn thirty days flour are to return three of it to Mr. Woodman Commissary of the Garrison taking his receipt for the same. Those who have not drawn the whole are to draw twenty seven days exclusive of the two days last drawn, of which they are to issue four days to the troops immediately. The Troops are directed to cook two days flour as quick as possible. As this will lighten a considerable number of horses the spare ones to be sent to Hd Quarters immediately, in order that they may be distributed amongst those corps who are not supplied. The Brigadiers will pay particular attention in having this done as soon as possible, & the Brigadier & field officer will also see the other order complied with in the quickest manner possible. The troops to draw half a pint of whisky to day, which is to be considered for this day & tomorrow.

As the army cannot be equiped for marching this day, they are to hold themselves in perfect readiness, to move tomorrow morning eight oClock at all events.

Hd Qrs 4 Miles above Teaoga 26th Augt (arr'd 6 oClock P.M.)
Parole Ireland C Sign France Brigadier of the day General Poor
Field officer of the day Colonel Cortlandt Brigade Major Marshall

The general to beat at six oClock precisely A gun from the park will be a signal for the Assemblee to beat, & a second gun a signal for the march.

Until further orders a morning & evening gun to be fired at the park of Artillery.

The troops are strictly forbiden to open Indian graves, there being repeated instances of the most fatal disorders being occasioned by them.

Hd Qrs Near Chemung 27th Augt (Arr'd 8 o'clock P.M.)
Parole America C Sign Spain Brigadier of the day Gen Clinton
Field officer of the day Lt Colo Dearborn Brigade Major Fish

It is with great gfref and astonishment that the Comr in chief is informed that some of the soldiers steal the stores of the army & even the private allowance of their messmates, while others are so vile as to throw away their own provisions. This discovers an unjust & ungenerous disposition as well as an inattention to their own comfort & safety. The General declares that as the army have drawn provision to a certain period, he will not suffer the army to return, through want of provision until that period be expired. The General positively declares also he will order five hundred lashes to be inflicted upon any person detected in the before mentioned offences, & in addition thereto, to draw only one pound of flour & meat per week during the campaign.

The General being well convinced of the inattention of some brigade commissaries & conductors of horses, positively orders that the Brigade commissaries be answerable for all the pro-

vision delivered to them and that they make the Conductors accountable to them. When provisions are lost no excuse will be admited, except the Brigadier of the day upon hearing the evidence certifies that the loss was inevitable. All other losses are to be accounted for by the Commissaries & Conductors who are to have an entire stoppage of their wages until the same be compensated as also subjected to a tryal by courtmartial.

As the troops will have such a quantity of corn & beans at this place as will be amply sufficient for a day's provision, the flour they have on hand is to extend one day longer than it was issued for. Commissaries of brigades & corps are particularly to notice this order & regulate their issues accordingly.

The troops to hold themselves in readiness to move at the shortest notice in common order for Chemung.

First Gun a signal for the General, second for the Assemblee, & third for the march to beat.

One man more from each regimt to be added to Capt Selin's corps of Pioniers.

Hd Qrs Chemung 28th Augt (Arr'd 5 oClock P.M.)
Parole Chemung C Sign Newton Brigadier of the day General Maxwell
Field officer Colonel Gansvoort Brigade Major Ross

Hd Qrs Newtown 29th Augt (Arr'd 6 oClock P.M.)
Parole Albany C Sign Saratoga Brigadier of the day Gen Poor
Field officer Major Piatt Brigade Major Marshall

When situation will admit, the army is to encamp in order of battle General Clinton's brigade forming their face to the rear & the flanking divisions forming a front, the one to the right, the other, to the left flank. Whoever has the field notes of Mr. Lodge, Surveyor for this department, is desired to return to him or leave them at Head Quarters.

Hd Qrs Newton Augt 30th 1779. Parole Canada C Sign Halifax
Brigadier of the day General Clinton Field officer of the day Lt Colo Weisenfeld Brigade Major Fish

The Comr in chief with the highest satisfaction returns his

sincere thanks to the officer & soldiers of the army for their brave & soldierly conduct yesterday. No troops could have manifested more eagerness for the combat than those who were not immediately engaged, and none more bravery & coolness than those who were in action. The General in a special manner returns his thanks to General Poor the officers & soldiers of his brigade for the firmness & resolution with which they opposed & routed the enemy. He also returns his thanks to Major Parr & the troops under his command for the brave stand they made. He is sensible of the obligation he is under to every General, field & other commissioned officer for their particular attention to orders & the chearfulness they shew in executing every direction. He cannot help expressing his satisfaction with the conduct of Colo Proctor, and the officers & men of the artillery. Capt. Machen, Lieuts Stephens & Jenkins have his cordial thanks for the services they rendered the army by their vigilance & exertions. It is with pleasure he declares the conduct of the whole army has fully convinced him that every future attempt to oppose their progress must be vain & fruitless.

The same signals as yesterday's will notify the march of the army.

General Clinton is appointed president of a court martial to sit at three oClock this afternoon for the trial of Commissary Steele. Each Brigade to furnish one field officer & three Captains.

Capt Anderson is appointed Judge advocate. The court to sit at the presidt's marque.

Hd Qrs Ten miles from Newtown 31 Augt 79 (Arr'd 6 oClock P.M.)

Parole Montreal C Sign Quebec Brigadier of the day Gen Maxwell

Field officer Major Whiting Brigade Major Ross

It is with the highest sense of gratitude the General received an account of the chearful compliance of the officers & soldiers of the army with his proposals of yesterday. This pleasing proof of their virtue, fortitude, & perseverance added to the striking

evidence they have given of their bravery gives him the most agreeable sensations, & demands every return in his power. He will endeavour to expedite the operations of the expedition as much as possible and has no doubt but with the supplies on hand he will soon afford to issue full rations. He assures them as soon as it can be reduced to a certainty, that the provisions will answer, he will not loose a moment in ordering the full allowance dealt out.

Least any doubt should arise in the minds of the troops respecting the money to be allowed in lieu of provisions retained the General assures them they shall receive as much as the provisions would cost at this time.

As he thinks the full ration of salt especially necessary at this time, the Commissaries are directed to issue allowance until further orders.

The right flanking division of the army is to be considered as under the command of General Poor & the left flanking division under the command of General Maxwell who command the right & left wings of the first line.

Hd Qrs Catharine's town Sept 1st (Arr'd 9 Oclock P.M.)
Parole Elizabethtown C Sign Newark Brigadier of the day General Poor
Field officer Major Cochran Brigade Major Marshall

Hd Qrs Catharine's town Sept 2nd Parole Chester C Sign Chatham
Brigadier of the day General Clinton Field officer Major Scott Brigade Major Fish

The orders of the 31st ult not being sufficiently explicit, the General thinks proper to mention, that as the flanking divisions must act in conjunction with the first line in case of an attack in front they must be considered as under the general command of the General officers commanding the right & left wings of the first line. Notwithstanding which they are strictly to attend to the General orders given them in the order of battle and act accordingly, unless the officers commanding the wings should find it necessary to give contrary orders. Should the

flanking divisions be obliged to return to the relief of the second line, they are to consider themselves in time of action under the command of General Clinton, persuing however the general directions already given them, unless General Clinton should find it necessary to give different directions.

The General considering the flanks in this light did not particularly mention the right flanking division in his orders of the 30th ult. though he considered them as part of General Poor's Brigade & meant to thank them for their bravery on the day of action.

The General not being before notified which of the York regiments were in the action takes this opportunity of returning his thanks to the officers & soldiers of Gansvoort's and Dubois regiments for their gravery & good conduct on that day.

The Comr in chief is truly sensible of the exertions of Captains Ballard & Selin & Ensign Dodge with their corps of Pioniers for their great allertness in forwarding the march of the army yesterday & thanks them for their industry.

Commissary Steele is released from his arrest & to return to the duties of his office. Capt Gifford will still continue his charge of the cattle & report to Headquarters once in twenty four hours how many cattle are on hand.

The weight of the cattle delivered to the brigade Commissaries with the numbers of rations issued & to whom to the Commissary General every issuing day who is to make out early the next day a general return to the Comr in chief.

The Comr in chief positively forbids the soldiers stragling from the Camp on any pretence whatever.

A General court martial of which Lt Colo Reid is appointed president to sit immediately for the tyal of ———— for discharging his firelock whereby Capt Kemble was killed.

The troops are ordered immediately to set about cleaning themselves in the best manner they can & be in readiness to march early tomorrow morning.

Hd Qrs 12 Miles from Catharine's 3rd Sept (Arrived at 6 oClock P.M.)

Parole Boundbrook C Sign Brunswic Brigadier for tomorrow Gen Maxwell

Field officer Colo Dayton Brigade Major Ross

The General is exceedingly surprised that his orders respecting the movement of the pack horses are so little attended to, by which neglect the army & its retinue have been frequently endangered. He now positively orders that the following arrangement of them be punctually complied with. The pack horses of Generals Poor & Clinton's Brigades to move in three files on the left of Poor's column. The pack horses of Generals Hand & Maxwell's brigades to move in the same manner on the right of Maxwell's column. The Pack horses of Colo Proctor's regiment to move immediately on the right & left of the road on which the Artillery pass. The cattle to be driven immediately in the rear of the artillery. The front of the several files of pack horses to be arranged with the heads of the Column. After passing a defile, where the whole are to proceed on one path, the horses are immediately to resume their former position. The General & field officers of the day as also the Qr Master General to see that those who deviate from this arrangement be properly punished.

The troops to draw three days half rations of meat this night & cook one half of that.

The General to beat tomorrow morning at five oClock, at half after the Assemblee & at three quarters after the march without the usual signals.

Hd Qrs Near Kendoia 4th Sept (Arr'd 7 oClock P.M.)

Parole Princeton C Sign Trent Brigadier for tomorrow General Poor

Field officer Colo Spencer Brigade Major Marshall

Hd Qrs Kendaia 5th Sept (Arr'd 12 oClock A.M.)

Parole Muscovy C Sign Norway Brigadier for tomorrow Gen Clinton

Field officer Ot Colo Reid Brigade Major Fish

Such firelocks as require to be discharged, are to be fired off this afternoon at retreat beating, which will be half an hour earlier than usual.

Hd Qrs Kendaia 6 Sept. 1779 Parole Lancaster C Sign Leghorn

Brigadier for tomorrow Gen Maxwell Field officer Colo Cortland Brigade Major Ross

The Comr in chief positively forbids any officer or soldier purchasing for their own use those horses of the enemy which may be taken, and he directs that those which may hereafter be capjured, be immediately carryed to the Qr Mr General & t be by him purchased for the use of the army. The Qr Master is also directed to take all such horses as may hereafter be found in their possession, allowing the captors or owners a reasonable value for the same. He calls upon all officer and more expeci—

(Finis)

HISTORICAL NEWS AND COMMENTS

Award to the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company

The American Association for State and Local History, at its annual meeting at Raleigh, North Carolina, in October, 1948, made an "honorable mention award" to the New Jersey Bell Telephone Company "for having published leaflets every month for over a period of several years, entitled Tel-news, which have been enclosed with every telephone bill, and for publishing in these leaflets historical news and illustrations relating to the history of New Jersey."

University Historian at Rutgers

Rutgers University has appointed Dr. Richard P. McCormick, assistant professor of history, University Historian to prepare a new history of the university and to have charge of the collection and arrangement of all materials pertaining to Rutgers history. This is to include a survey of the existing

archives for remedying of deficiencies and making provision for the future preservation and classification of manuscripts and other documents relating to the 183-year old institution. Dr. McCormick is to be assisted by a committee made up of Dr. William H. S. Demarest, former president of Rutgers, Dean of the University Albert E. Meder, Jr., Ernest E. McMahon, director of alumni relations, Donald F. Cameron, University librarian, and Dr. Roy F. Nichols, former alumni trustee and professor of history at the University of Pennsylvania. Dr. McCormick is a graduate of Rutgers in 1938, received his master's degree there in 1940 and his doctor's degree from the University of Pennsylvania. He has published a number of articles on New Jersey history, several of them in the "Proceedings" of the Society. His "Experiment in Independence: New Jersey in the Critical Period, 1780-1790" is to be published this year by the Rutgers University Press.

Basking Ridge Historical Society

Miss Laura A. Frost, Recording Secretary, has written a short, but comprehensive history of the twenty years' activity of the Basking Ridge Historical Society, which shows the possibilities of a local organization in a community rich in historical interest. From a nucleus of twenty one members in September, 1928, the society reached a peak enrollment of two hundred and fifty, although the membership is not that large at present. Incorporated in 1934, the society under excellent leadership has carried out a varied program of lectures, studies, and exhibits, and the collection of books, papers, and relics of historical interest, all more or less closely identified with the local community. It is to be congratulated on its twenty year record, as it enters its third decade of activity.

NECROLOGY OF MEMBERS

DR. ELVIRA DEAN ABELL, wife of former State Senator Frank D. Abell, was found dead in bed at her home in Madison, on December 8, 1948. A physician said the cause of death was a cerebral hemorrhage.

Dr. Abell was born in Athens, Pa., November 14, 1884, the daughter of George Thompson Dean and Fanny Arthur (Thompson) Dean. She was graduated from Cornell in 1907 and from Cornell Medical College in 1911. She practiced medicine at Tuxedo Park, N. Y., until 1916 when she came to Morristown as pathologist and roentgenologist at Memorial and All Souls Hospitals and at Overlook Hospital at Summit. She married Mr. Abell in 1918.

Her public and private interests in Morristown were widespread. She was the first woman member of the Board of Directors of Shonghum Sanatorium and for several years was president of the New Jersey Tuberculosis Association. She was a member of the Board of Managers of the North Jersey Training School for Girls, and was a member of the Executive Committee of the Morristown Garden Club. She was a director of the New Jersey Roadside Council and a member of St. Peter's Church, Morristown.

Dr. Abell is survived by her husband, a son, Frank D. Abell, Jr., a daughter, Mrs. Benjamin Franklin III, and a sister, Dr. Jennie Beaver.

Dr. Abell became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society January 12, 1944.

COLONEL HARLAN BESSON, former United States Attorney for New Jersey, died January 9, 1949, at his home in Frenchtown after a long illness.

He was born in Hoboken 61 years ago, the son of the late Samuel A. Besson and a member of one of Hoboken's oldest families. He was graduated from Rutgers University and from the New York Law School in 1908, was admitted to the New Jersey bar in 1909 and became a counselor in 1912. He was town attorney of Secaucus from 1911 to 1921, when he was appointed Assistant United States Attorney, serving in that capacity until 1929. From 1929 to 1932 he served as first assistant prosecutor for Hudson County. In 1932 President Hoover appointed him United States Attorney, a post he held for three years.

Colonel Besson's military service began in 1908 as a member

of Essex Troop. He received a commission in 1909, served four months on the Mexican Border in 1916, and was an infantry captain during World War I with the 29th Division in France. Maintaining his reserve commission after the war, he was recalled to active duty in September, 1941, as a lieutenant colonel and served from 1942 to 1945 as commanding officer of the Second Command Tactical School at Hackettstown. He also commanded Camp Smith at Peekskill, New York, for a short time. He was a member of the military court which convicted two Nazi spies who landed by submarine in Maine at a trial on Governor's Island in 1945.

He is survived by his wife, Mrs. Addie Case Besson, a daughter, Miss Roberta Besson, and a sister, Miss Henrietta Besson, all of Frenchtown.

Colonel Besson became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society, November 12, 1947.

C. LEDYARD BLAIR, retired banker and yachtsman, died at his home in New York City, February 7, 1949, after a long illness, at the age of 82.

He was born in Belvidere, New Jersey, the son of DeWitt Clinton Blair and grandson of John Insley Blair, a family long interested in banking. After graduating from Princeton in 1890, he joined his father and grandfather in his family's banking firm of Blair and Company, of New York, becoming chairman of the board of directors in 1920. Long interested in yachting, he served as commodore of the New York Yacht Club in 1910, his 254-foot yacht, the "Diana," being flagship of the club at that time. At the outbreak of World War I, he sold the yacht to the Russian government who turned it over to France for war service, and it was sunk in action in the Mediterranean.

Mr. Blair was active in civic and philanthropic enterprises. He was for many years a trustee of Blair Academy at Blairstown, which his grandfather had founded. He was founder and first president of the Somerset Hills Country Club in 1899, and in 1917 was instrumental in moving the club to its present site in Mine Mount Road, Bernardsville. He was a member of

the Sons of the Revolution, and the Metropolitan, the Knickerbocker, the Union, and the Racket and Tennis Clubs.

He married Miss Florence Osborne Jennings, of Orange, in 1891. She died in 1931. In February, 1936, he married the former Miss Harriet S. Browne, widow of T. Suffern Tailer, of New York, and daughter of Alexander Browne, banker of Baltimore. Besides his wife, he is survived by four daughters by his first marriage, Mrs. Blair Clark, of New York, Mrs. H. Rivington Pyne, of Far Hills, Mrs. Richard V. N. Gambrill, of Peapack, and Mrs. James B. Campbell, of Columbus, Ohio.

Mr. Blair became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society, June 6, 1911.

Miss Adelaide Bonnell, of Elizabeth, died Saturday, January 29, 1949, at her home 249 West Jersey Street, after a short illness, at the age of 87.

She was born in 1861, five years before her family moved to Elizabeth, and had lived in Elizabeth for eighty-two years. She was a member of St. John's Episcopal Church. Her only survivor is a nephew, Samuel Bonnell of Bay Head.

Miss Bonnell became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society April 5, 1915.

Herman Lehlbach, civil engineer and former faculty member of New York Law School, died at his home in East Orange February 10, 1949, at the age of 76.

He was born in Newark, the son of the late Representative Herman Lehlbach, was graduated from Newark High School, now Barringer High School, and received a diploma from the New York Law School in 1904. He was admitted to the New Jersey bar and for twenty five years taught at the New York Law School. He also maintained a connection with his father's engineering firm, Lehlbach Brothers, 196 Market Street, Newark. He became a member of the board of managers of Fairmount Cemetery in 1904 and at the time of his death had been president of the company for thirty five years . He was also a member of the board of managers of Newark's Luth-

eran Memorial Hospital. He was a deacon and trustee of the First Congregational Church.

He leaves his wife, Mrs. Mabel Stevenson Lehlbach, a brother, Milton, of Irvington, three daughters, Mrs. Richard E. Warren, of Chatham, Miss Gertrude M. Lehlbach, at home, and Mrs. John A. McCullough, of Kingston, New York, two sons, Herman and Franklin S., of Livingston, a sister, Miss Gertrude Lehlbach, of Irvington, and twelve grandchildren.

Mr. Lehlbach became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society May 4, 1925.

MARY ISABELLA SIMPSON MCCUTCHEN, the widow of Charles W. McCutchen, died at her home in Plainfield, November 12, 1948, at the age of 93. The daughter of Josiah Simpson, an army surgeon, and Harriet St. John Simpson, his wife, she was born May 6, 1855, at Fort Humbolt, California, a frontier army post. Her girlhood was spent at the various army posts to which her father was assigned, until 1880 when she married Mr. McCutchen and came to live in Plainfield in the house where her husband died fifty years later, in 1930, and where she died sixty eight years later.

Her ancestry goes back in New Jersey history to Dr. Henry Greenland who came from New Hampshire with the Piscataway colony at the end of the seventeenth century. He built the first house in New Brunswick "at the ford of the Raritan", and later the first house in Princeton, popularly known as "Castle Howard". His daughter married Daniel Brunson and the home of their son, Barefoot Brunson, is still standing in Kingston, New Jersey. Mrs. McCutchen's great grandfather, William Simpson, fought with the Continental Army at the battle of Princeton and her grandfather, Judge Nealy Simpson, was one of the commissioners appointed by the governor of the state to study the advisability of public education.

She was always keenly interested in New Jersey history and took an active part in the placing of a suitable monument on Washington Rock, and was one of the first commissioners for the Washington Rock State Park, the land for which had been

donated by Mr. McCutchen because of her interest in this historic site.

Mrs. McCutchen was a lifelong member of the Presbyterian Church and belonged to a number of the welfare and social organizations of Plainfield. She is survived by a daughter, Miss Margaret W. McCutchen, of Plainfield, and a son, Brunson Simpson McCutchen, of Princeton. Another son, Charles St. John McCutchen, died in childhood.

Mrs. McCutchen became a contributing member of the New Jersey Historical Society, April 6, 1914.

NEW MEMBERS

The Membership Committee announces the following new members since the publication of the last issue of the *Proceedings*:

Institutional

L. Bambreger & Co., Newark

Sustaining

William V. Griffin, Peapack

Contributing

Frank Acocella, Harrison
A. H. Aiken, East Orange
F. W. Amstutz, Atlantic City
Miss Ida G. Bauman, Jersey City
I. R. Bean, Newark
Henry M. Beekman, Bedminster
S. L. Bendit, Washington, D. C.
Purdy F. Benedict, New Vernon
R. J. Bourke, Washington, D. C.
Willard Bowman, East Orange
Harold C. Bucklow, South Orange
Hon. Frederick R. Colie, Newark
John Connally, Bloomfield
Henry Connor, Newark
C. S. Cronkright, Newark
Gene Davis, Washington, D. C.

Damon G. Douglas, Jr., Lawrenceville
Miss Kathleen S. Dunn, Passaic
Charles A. Eaton, Plainfield
John M. Ellis, Newark
George Eppley, Maplewood
R. B. Evans, Fairford
Herbert L. Farrow ,Newark
Miss Ruth T. Farrow, Newark
Mrs. Oliver D. Filley, Bernardsville
Kenneth Fisk, Roseland
John S. Foster, Glen Ridge
Anthony J. Franklin, Orange
F. W. Giese, Maplewood
Edward Gilroy, Short Hills
Joseph F. Greer, Elizabeth
Mrs. William V. Griffin, Peapack
Harry Harper, Hackensack
James Hastings, South Orange
George Helfrich, Mapleood
L. M. Herman, Newark
Frank Hewens, Boonton
Mrs. Garret A. Hobart, Montclair
Philip Hockstein, Rumson
John Kearny, Lawrenceville
Carlos D. Kelley, Rumson
Don Kerr, Newark
A. S. McCutcheon, Elizabeth
W. S. Meyers, Absecon
J. E. Mitchell, Mountainside
Kenneth C. Morley, Maplewood
Joseph O. Osgood, New York City
Mrs. Benjamin Page, Jr., Morristown
Charles McKew Parr, Newark
Kenneth M. Pepper, Bloomfield
R. Stuyvesant Pierrepont, Far Hills
Joseph Presti, Red Bank
Alexander Query, Montclair
Charles Dallas Reach, Newark
Arthur Robbins, Newark
Peter W. Rudino, Newark
John O. Sabatus, Brooklyn, N. Y.
John Scully, Maplewood
Floyd B. Shannon, Kearny
Mrs. G. W. Shannon, South Orange

Sam S. Smith, New York City
A. W. Stendler, Plainfield
F. E. Sutch, Atlantic City
Arthur Sylvester, Gaithersburg, Md.
Vreeland Tompkins, Summit
W. Finley Tompkins, Maplewood
William C. Troast, Ridgewood
Marcus Tushnet, Newark
H. W. Umstadter, Erskine Lakes
Miss A. May Van Derveer, Somerville
A. J. Viglietta, Stony Brook, L.I., N.Y.
Herbert W. Voorhees, Hopewell
E. W. Woolworth, Montclair
Gayle L. Young, Jr., Newark
William R. Yunker, Short Hills

NEW MEMBERS OF WOMAN'S BRANCH

The Woman's Branch announces the following new members:

Mrs. Leon H. Fradkin, Montclair
Mrs. John V. McMaster, Jersey City
Mrs. John W. Queen, South Orange
Mrs. Thomas Potter, Princeton
Mrs. E. Eldredge Thomas, Morristown
Mrs. Alice C. Throckmorton, Jersey City
Miss Katherine Young, Newark

Cradle Roll Members

Miss Barbara Frances Barker, West Orange
Edward Weston Hoyt, Montclair

BOOK REVIEWS AND NOTICES

A Jerseyman's Journal: Fifty Years of American Business and Politics. By Walter Evans Edge. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948. xi, 349p. $5.00.)

Since the conclusion of William E. Sackett's informative *Modern Battles of Trenton* with the publication of its second volume in 1915, a sequel history of New Jersey politics has

been increasingly needed. Although *Jerseyman's Journal* by no means supplies this need, it does bridge the gap in point of time. Some fifty years ago the young publisher and business man, Republican by choice, concluded to try his hand at politics. It is with satisfaction and few regrets that he now reviews the career which had made him twice wartime governor of New Jersey, senator, and for three years ambassador to France.

While the business side of his life is dealt with, albeit sketchily, it is primarily a study in politics, state, national, and international. Mr. Edge devotes considerable space(more than a quarter of the book, in fact) to the concerns and achievements of his final administration as governor—war measures, postwar problems, constitutional revision, labor disturbances, and so on. The earlier phases of his career are covered in less detail, and with perhaps somewhat less candor. Indeed one who reads the chapter, "The Freshman Years of Politics," to study the subterranean workings of a party at ward, municipal, or county level, will read in vain. It may be added that Mr. Edge, while inveighing against the Democratic Hague machine of Hudson County, utters not a word about the equally unsavory Republican organization of his own home city. It is unlikely that an Atlantic City Republican could have served long in politics without noting the existence of one Louis Kuehnle ("The Commodore") and of his successor Enoch L. ("Nucky") Johnson.

In any case, the story is an interesting one, useful particularly in its final chapters, of long and dignified public service. It is to be hoped that autobiographies of other leading Jerseymen will follow. What a pity that every governor has not provided his autobiography for students of New Jersey history.

—Donald A. Sinclair

The Maryland Germans. By Dieter Cunz. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948. viii, 476p. biblio., index, $5.00.)

The New York Triumvirate: A Study of the Legal and Political Careers of William Livingston, John Morin Scott, and William Smith, Jr. By Dorothy Dillon, Ph. D. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1949. Number 548 in

Studies in History, Economics and Public Law Edited by Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University. 203p. biblio., index, $3.25.)

The Autobiography of Benjamin Rush, Signer of the Declaration of Independence and America's Most Distinguished Eighteenth Century Physician. Edited with Introduction and Notes by George W. Corner. (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1948. 360p. appendices, index, frontispiece, $6.00.)

The American Presidency in Action: 1789. *A Study in Constitutional History.* By James Hart. (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1948. xv, 248p. index. $4.00.)

DONATIONS TO THE MUSEUM

December 1948-March 1, 1949.

Anonymous: Collection in album of "Speak Easy" cards from the Prohibition era.

Estate of Mabel P. Coe, Newark ,N.J., through Benj. J. Coe, South Orange, N. J.: Oil portrait of Sayres Coe, of Newark, N.J. 1772-1851; oil portrait of his wife, Sallie Coe, nee Davis, 1775-1853.

Benjamin J. Coe, South Orange, N.J.: Book containing scholars photographs and autographs, presented to Miss Clara L. Hall by the Hall Alumnae Association.

The Misses Mathilda and Adeline Dodd, Newark, N. J.: Fan, c. 1920; white lace cape, c. 1880; five pieces of muslin underwear, 1910-1920.

Estate of Mrs. Isabel Ball Gifford, Newark, N. J.; Large portrait of James Marshall, 1816-1890; large portrait of Mrs. Horace Wm. Ball, later Mrs. James Marshall, 1832-1878, mother of James Thomas Ball and Alfred Ball; small portrait of Horace Wm. Ball, 1816-1852, father of James Thomas Ball; small portrait of Augustus W. Ball, brother of Horace Ball; inlaid mahogany side board, Sheraton school, c. 1800.

The Newark Museum: Seven pieces of muslin underwear, 1890-1910.

Estate of Fezon Stites Ollive, Spring Lake, N.J.: Silk patchwork table or piano cover, 1870; small cotton patchwork quilt, 1850; piece of linen, c. 1800, woven by Mary Mar-

tin Stites from flax grown on her farm at Rahway, N.J.; man's night shirt, c. 1800, made by Mary Martin Stites for her husband from linen mentioned above; sampler, dated June 20th, 1837, made by Mary Stites, age 12 years.

Mrs. W. C. Ryerson, Newark, N. J.: pink patchwork quilt for child's bed, 1841.

Mr. W. Clark Symington, 2 Park Place, Newark, N.J.: Photograph of No. 2 Park Place, Newark, taken in 1948.

Mr. C. L. Wallace, East Orange, N. J.: Piece of calico with design of Washington's head, made and sold as dress-making material at the time of the Centennial Exposition in 1876. This piece was purchased in Newark, N.J.

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Louis Benbauer, Camden: *History of the World War I Memorial Monument at Camden, New Jersey.*

Willis Boughton, Fort Lauderdale, Florida: His book, *Arnold, Redway and Earle families.*

Miss Elizabeth C. Carter, Newark: *Currier and Ives. Printmakers to the American People,* by Harry T. Peters; *Adventures of America,* VREG-VTJJ, *Pictorial Record from Harper's Weekly,* by John A. Kouwenhoven. 1839.

Knight Cliff, Newark: *An account of the Life of David Brainard . . .*Newark, 1811; *Two Discourses Preached at Haberdashers-Hall, London,* 1761, by Thomas Gibbons. . . . .

Benjamin J. Coe, Glen Ridge: Account books of Sayers Coe, 1802-1851; *History of Newark,* by Joseph Atkinson; Scrap book.

Ross K. Cook, E. Orange: Tillou family notes. Ms.

Joseph Dobbs, Bernardsville: *The Presbyterian,* Philadelphia & New York. (weekly newspaper) 1841-1846.

Miss Miriam W. Duncan, Providence, R.I., Collection of Civil War photographs, newspaper clippings, letters, etc. belonging to her father, Capt. Sebastian Cabot Duncan, Jr., Co. E. 13th Reg't, N.J. Volunteers.

W. T. Eickman, West New York: His book, *History of West New York,* New Jersey. 1948.

Miss Eleanor G. French, Montclair: Abstract of the title of William H. Belcher to property in the township of Wayne, state of New Jersey.

Miss Josephine B. L. Garretson, Morristown: Receipts for bills belonging to her father Abram Q. Garretson, while at Harvard.

Mrs. Carl A. Giese: Maplewood: Papers connected with the pension of Elizabeth Mead, Widow of Stephen Mead, a Revolutionary War soldier.

Henry Barber Howe, Mt. Kisco, N.Y.: His book, *Yorkshire to Westchester. A Chronicle of the Wood family.* 1949.

Ashbel Green, Hanover: Journal of the Proceedings of the Convention to form a Constitution for the Government of the State of New Jersey. 1844.

Edward M. Lum, Chatham: *Directory of the City of Newark, N.J.* 1836-7.

Mrs. N. D. McGovern, Hoboken: Last will and testament of Josiah Hornblower, 1842: Deed from Josiah Hornblower and wife Hannah to Christopher Van Riper, Nov. 12, 1805: Deed from Josiah Hornblower and wife to William Hornblower, Sept. 1832.

Miss Leona B. McQuieston, Los Angeles, Cal.: Her book, *The Mc Quiston, McCuiston and McQuesten Families.* 1620-1937.

James M. Miller, Newark: *History of St. Phillips Church, Newark, N.J.*

Major Thomas M. Parks, Jackson Heights, N.Y.: Application of John Wort, Jr. of Ohio for back pay and land in New Jersey of George Wort and Michael Bonney, Revolutionary War soldiers.

F. W. Romine, Newark: *Contemporary Life,* Published by the Contemporary Club of Newark, N.J. 1931-1947.

Miss Antoinette Q. Scudder, Newark: *The Scudder Family of Trenton.* Comp. by Moses Bigelow. 1948.

Mrs. Clarence M. Smith, West Windsor, Vt.; Collection of deeds belonging to the Speer family of New Jersey, 1793-1816 for property in Speertown, now Montclair, N.J.

Mrs. William M. Sperling, Bound Brook: Collection of deeds and wills belonging to the Waldron family.

Thomas W. Streeter, Morristown: *The Winthrop Family in America,* by Lawrence S. Mayo. 1948.

William Clark Symington, Newark: *The Scottish Clans and their Tartans,* Edinborough, 1947: Tartans of the Clans and Families of Scotland, Edinborough, 1948.

Mrs. William Talbot, Bernardsville. *Colonial Inns of Morris County, New Jersey.* Her compilation written for the Morris County Historical Society. Ms.

William Penn Vail, M.D. Blairstown: His book *Moses Vail, of Huntington Long Island.*

Gile J. Warren, Westwood: *History of Westwood, Bergen County and New Jersey,* by Members of the Faculty of Westwood High School. Ed. by Gile J. Warren and Josephine Shirer. 1942.

Weequahanic High School, Newark: *The Legend,* Jan. 1949.

George Woodruff Winans, Jamaica, L.I.: His book, *First Presbyterian Church of Jamaica, New York.* A narrative of its Two Hundred and Eighty Years of Continuous Service. 1943.

Woman's Branch: *Furniture Treasury,* by Wallace Nutting. 2 vols.; Newspaper clippings.

On Monday, February 21st, two of the staff, Mrs. Greene, Librarian, and Mrs. Dennis, in charge of the Museum, together with Mrs. Hartshorne, President of the Woman's Branch, and Mr. Damon Douglas, 3rd Vice-President and Chairman of the Membership Committee, spoke over Station WAAT on the Coffee Hour at 9:03 in the morning. Mrs. Greene spoke first, giving an account of material available in the Library and of the information which can be obtained there by scholars, working on special subjects, genealogical searchers and general historians. Mrs. Dennis described the many interesting articles in the Museum and invited the public to visit it, including classes of school children. Mrs. Hartshorne told of the work of the Woman's Branch, and Mr. Douglas made an appeal for members.

THE INDIANA MAGAZINE OF HISTORY for June 1947 contains an article on the Indiana branch of the Shipman Genealogy, commencing with Samuel Shipman, Sr., son of David Shipman and Elizabeth Tingley of Morris County, New Jersey. The December, 1948, issue has "Roger-Ward-Shipman and allied families" concerned chiefly with a few of the Indiana, Kentucky, Ohio and Missouri pioneers of these three New Jersey familie.